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CONTENTS

THEATER FORCES

FRANCE

- Budget Austerity To Affect Conventional, Nuclear Forces
(Philippe Gazier; LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE, 19 Jul 82) 1
- Hernu Says Nuclear Deterrent Forces To Remain 'Priority'
(Charles Hernu Interview; LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE, 19 Jul 82) 7

TERRORISM

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

- Justice Minister: No New Anti-Terrorist Laws Needed
(FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 7 Aug 82) 9

ENERGY ECONOMICS

DENMARK

- Electric Power Plants Report Excess Capacity Has Risen
(INFORMATION, 10 Aug 82) 12

ECONOMIC

ICELAND

- Money Supply Shortfall Heralds Business Downturn
(MORGUNBLADID, 15 Jul 82) 14
- Current Year Trade Gap Worsens as Imports Climb 23 Percent
(MORGUNBLADID, 15 Jul 82) 15

Business Group Leader: International Competitiveness Down (MORGUNBLADID, 14 Jul 82)	17
--	----

POLITICAL

CANADA

Quebec National Assembly Session Appraised (Editorial, Vincent Price; LA PRESSE, 25 Jun 82)	18
--	----

CYPRUS

Ramifications of Ioannidis-Kyprianou Dialogue Discussed (Bernard Brigouleix; LE MONDE, 25 Jun 82)	20
--	----

DENMARK

Jorgen Lenger Seen as Likely Next Left-Socialist Chairman (INFORMATION, 10 Aug 82)	23
---	----

Chances of SDP, Nonsocialist Cooperation Dim (Lisbeth Knudsen; BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 14 Aug 82)	25
--	----

Briefs Merger of Liberals, Conservatives Urged	26
---	----

DENMARK/GREENLAND

Article Profiles Greenland Prime Minister Motzfeldt (Lise Lotte Nielsen; BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 8 Aug 82)	27
---	----

Prime Minister Motzfeldt Views Upcoming Political Issues (GRONLANDSPOSTEN, 28 Jul 82)	31
--	----

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Hesse's Greens Hold Congress, Reject Coalitions (Bernd Erich Heptner; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 16 Aug 82).	33
--	----

ICELAND

Paper Cites USSR's Overfishing in Light of Treaty Talks (Editorial; MORGUNBLADID, 15 Jul 82)	36
---	----

NETHERLANDS

Briefs	
Labor Party Begins Campaign	37
Lubbers' Views	37
Communist Party Appeal	38
Peace Movement on Election	38
CDA Criticizes Peace Movement	38

SPAIN

UCD, PSOE Unite To Oust RTVE Director (Joaquin Prieto; EL PAIS, 23 Jul 82)	39
PNV President Critical of LOAPA, UCD, PSOE, ETA (Xabier Arzallus Interview; EL PAIS, 26 Jul 82)	44
UCD's Lavilla Optimistic About Party, Democracy (Landelino Lavilla Interview; EL PAIS, 15 Aug 82)	49
AP's Fraga Active in Building Possible Coalition (EL PAIS, 14 Aug 82)	56
PSOE Deputy Describes Vision of Socialist Administration (Pablo Castellano; EL PAIS, various dates)	58
Coalition Building for Upcoming Elections in Full Swing (Fernando Jauregui; EL PAIS, 9 Aug 82)	64

MILITARY

DENMARK

German General Criticizes Danish Role in North NATO Command (Klaus Justesen; BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 14 Aug 82)	66
--	----

FRANCE

Thirteenth Foreign Legion Brigade in Djibouti (KEPI BLANC, various dates)	67
Practice on Rough Roads	
Field Practice	
Tactical Exercise in Northern Djibouti	
Company Divisions	

NORWAY

Retiring Military District Commander Cites Weapons Shortages (Ole Jakob Hald Interview; ARBEIDERBLADET, 7 Aug 82)	70
Paper Backs Commander in Urging Change in Mobilization Plans (Editorial; ARBEIDERBLADET, 9 Aug 82)	74
Labor Organ Applauds Benkow for Defense Budget Comments (Editorial; ARBEIDERBLADET, 12 Aug 82)	76

BUDGET AUSTERITY TO AFFECT CONVENTIONAL, NUCLEAR FORCES

Paris LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE in French 19 Jul 82 pp 24-28

[Article by Philippe Gazier: "The Commissariat Is Not Keeping Up Anymore"]

[Text] Budgetary austerity for the big-spender ministries. But watch out--would it perhaps be a serious mistake to treat defense as an ordinary matter? For security and independence are at stake. Not to mention the possible risk of putting the brakes on the country's economy.

Bastille Day parades against a background of crises. Localized, to be sure, but devastating, and their concomitance expresses the highest tension occurring since the end of World War II. A tension which the startup of new American-Soviet negotiations on reduction of strategic nuclear weapons will scarcely help to attenuate. And all the less so in that, partly because of the multiplication of the Soviet mobil SS-20 batteries, the imbalance of forces should reach its maximum amplitude in Europe in 1984 and 1985.

In this unstable international environment and in the face of this relative aggravation of the risks, what weight does the French panoply have? Isn't it time for France to make a "Reagan-type" effort? Shouldn't defense constitute the "priority of priorities"?

Quite to the contrary, though, on instructions from the prime minister, the defense program authorizations--the "pledge of the future," according to Admiral Jean Lannuzel--have been pared down on the same basis as for the civilian investments. Thus, some Fr 18 billion was "frozen" at the beginning of the year. "Temporarily." "Not surprisingly," comments an engineer general (of the reserves); "the Socialists scarcely love the military. But watch out--it would be a serious mistake to treat defense as an ordinary matter!"

The armed-forces budget for 1983 is not announced under the best of auspices (a "progression" of 8 to 10 percent, in current francs, is cited, as against 17.2 percent in 1982--i.e., like last year, some 10 percent less than the progression of the general state budget). And last month, Charles Hernu brought together the principal officials of the three armed forces and the Gendarmerie and gave them an order: "The world economic situation imposes an extraordinary austerity effort on our country in order to get out of the crisis in which it has been plunged for 7 years. Everyone has to take part in this effort, and as

is normal, defense cannot escape this situation." Therefore, austerity (so as to keep the budget deficit to within 3 percent of the GNP), as recently confirmed before the Parliamentary committee. But this does not fail to disturb the military, the industrialists and all those in whose view "defense insurance" implies that the country should devote more than 4 percent of its GNP to its armed forces (not including pensions) in order to preserve its independence.

Within a "ceiling package" within which nuclear weaponry will be "favored" (doubtlessly up 20 percent in program authorizations) and research will be "sustained," but within which, at the payment-credits level, the operating expenditures (Title III) are going to draw away some of the equipment credits of Title V.

The conventional-forces equipment program is therefore going to have to be pared down. To be sure, the new combat airplane, the Mirage 2000 (the program for which has fallen behind schedule, for that matter), would have to be given a "special" effort in 1983.

In counterpart, it is probable that, for purely mathematical reasons, many other types of materiel will bear the cost of the drastic austerity policy. This will likely be the case with the high-rate-of-fire 155-mm cannons, armored vehicles such as the AMX-10 tanks and the Army's wheeled tactical vehicles, the Transall airplanes, automatic weapons, even the surface vessels of the Navy.

In short, the lags that have already come about within the framework of the military programming law (and often denounced by Mr Hernu when he was the Defense Committee rapporteur) are going to get even longer. Especially at the expense of the battle-corps allocations.

Humor--Last year, the government did, however, show its determination to carry on the effort started before it. Mr Mauroy, opening the 34th Session of the Institute for Advanced Studies on National Defense, stressed, in a humorous vein, that: "I am, of course, the prime minister of change; but there is at least one area in which permanence is a necessity--the imperatives of defense."

Now these imperatives are very clear: "Ensuring at all times, in all circumstances and against all forms of aggression, the security and integrity of the national territory as well as the life of the population." These are the very terms of the ordinance of 7 January 1959. Each of these terms was carefully weighed by General de Gaulle. Today they constitute the "bible" in the matter of defense.

The principal instrument for ensuring this security and this integrity is the nuclear deterrent force, over which France (a member of the Atlantic Alliance, but having left NATO in 1966--again, by General de Gaulle's will) has "sovereign" control. At the cost of a 20-year effort which one deputy, Raymond Taurain, evaluated, in terms of 1980 francs, at some Fr 222 billion. Its strategic components are well-known: 18 missiles buried in the Albion Plateau, squadrons of Mirage IV's, and especially, the submarines of the Strategic Naval Force (FOST)--currently five of them. "France seeks deterrence, and it has acquired it," President Francois Mitterrand stressed at the Elysee last September; "it

has gone beyond the threshold below which our force and our commitment could be doubted." But the effort has to be continued. "Maintaining the invulnerability of this Strategic Naval Force is an absolute imperative," confirms General Pierre Gaulois (from whom Mme Marie-France Garaud is not the only one to take advice in the matter of strategy). In his view, it would be better to multiply the number of submarines, even if they were to be equipped with only two sea-to-ground strategic ballistic (MSBS) missiles, rather than provide each of the six existing and planned submarines with 16 MSBS missiles. We mention the fact that the sixth submarine of this type, the "Inflexible," has just been launched at Cherbourg (in the presence of Pierre Mauroy, who had already made a point of spending two nights and a day on board one of these SNLE's [Missile-Launching Strategic Nuclear submarines] last November--the "Tonnant"). The "Inflexible" will be placed in service in 1985 and fitted with a new M-4 multiple-warhead sea-to-ground missile built by Aerospatiale. Though equipped with the same number of missiles as the others, its nuclear striking power will be equivalent to the totality of the other five. This is not comparable to the arsenals of the two superpowers, to be sure, but all the same, it constitutes "a nuclear force that cannot be negotiated away," as Mr Mauroy puts it.

As for the building of a seventh submarine, promised by the president of the republic last summer on the occasion of his visit to Ile-Longue (in the Brest roadstead), it will not be placed in operational service before 1994 or 1995, in order to put as much technological progress into it as possible. But between now and then, the very first, the "Redoutable," which has been in service since January 1972, will have "served its time."

It would therefore be indispensable to build another one or two nuclear submarines in the meantime (it takes a good 5 years to build one of the "Inflexible" type). Cost Fr 3 billion, not including missiles. "Watch out!" warns General Gallois; "there is total convergence between Soviet doctrine and the armament that the Red Army is now placing in service!" Whereas previously, the USSR's panoply was not yet so rich. But the armaments being deployed in the East correspond word for word, as it were, to the strategic and tactical concepts of the Soviet texts.

Whence--according to the recent chiefs of staff (especially General Guy Mery, a great partisan of "theater weapons" and "forward combat")--the necessity of having available a diversified nuclear panoply--strategic, of course, but also tactical, short-range. In order, in a way, to be able to "adapt" the response, or "graduate" it, as John Fitzgerald Kennedy put it in his time. "Gadgets," replies Mr Gallois. "The Red Army cannot afford to lose the war; the entire labor of 7 centuries would collapse. In my opinion, though, the only choice France has is all-or-nothing." The French "all" could do very poorly. Not only against cities, as some have suggested, but especially against precise military objectives: situated on the Kola peninsula, a veritable arsenal of the Soviet Union, for example, industrial complexes, communications centers, etc. But there has been considerable progress in the precision of long-reach weapons--on our part as well as that of the superpowers. Jean Martre, general delegate for armament, gives assurance that: "As regards ballistic missiles, we are at the level of the others who make them" (the list is a very short one). It is also going to be necessary to determine whether a definitive commitment is going to be made on the new complementary programs: mobile SX missile (for

Defense: the Two Big Powers and the Others

<u>Country</u>	<u>Expenditures (in billions of dollars)</u>	<u>Percentage of budget</u>	<u>Percentage of GNP</u>
United States	143	26.0	5.6
FRG	26	22.5	5.0
France	25	19.9	4.0
Great Britain	24	15.4	3.2
Soviet Union	160		12.0

Relative weight of defense expenditures (including pensions) in 1980.

Source: Finance Committee, National Assembly

Budget: the Gendarmerie Takes Up the Rear (in millions of francs)

	<u>Payment credits</u>	<u>Program Authorizations</u>
Army	37,053	19,484
Air Force	26,861	19,797
Navy	23,019	13,488
Gendarmerie	11,526	1,149
Common section*	<u>24,396</u>	<u>18,380</u>
Total:	122,855	72,298

1982 budget credits for operations and equipment

* Strategic nuclear forces and central ministry services

Source: Ministry of Defense

Strength: More Gendarmes than Sailors

	<u>Career Military</u>	<u>Draftees</u>	<u>Civilian Personnel</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Army	115,385	198,792	42,666	356,843
Air Force	61,972	38,455	6,006	106,433
Navy	50,375	18,009	7,951	76,335
Gendarmerie	75,928	5,000	970	81,898
Common section*	<u>11,138</u>	<u>2,074</u>	<u>85,084</u>	<u>98,296</u>
Totals:	314,798	262,330	142,677	729,805

Strength per budget for 1982

* Strategic nuclear forces and central ministry services

Source: Ministry of Defense

some Fr 15 billion, just a little less than for three SNLE's equipped with 16 M-4 missiles), Hades tactical missiles to replace the Plutons (Fr 9.5 billion), etc.

With nuclear deterrence now a reality, the *raison d'être* of the air, sea and land forces is is for the nuclear weaponry not to have to be used. On condition that they are well-trained and modernized, of course. In that regard, the chiefs of staff of the three armed forces and the Gendarmerie find themselves facing the same enemy: inflation, which is not at all exclusive to the civilian world. Either in regard to Title V (equipment credits; therefore, purchases of airplanes, tanks, boats, rifles, etc) or as regards Title III (operating expenses for supporting the roughly 700,000 military and civilian personnel who are paid for from the defense budget--draftees included). In effect, despite the election-campaign promises, 12-month military service continues to be "an institution," helping to achieve, according to Mr Hernu, and "unfailing solidarity between the country and its armed forces." But an expensive solidarity. It has been calculated that in 1980, a draftee cost about Fr 10,000 (pay, Fr 3,780; food, Fr 4,485; clothing and other expenses, about Fr 2,000)--a total, that is, including the cadets and other ranks, of about Fr 3 billion for the draftee system.

Under these conditions, strengthening the nuclear arsenal and modernizing the "conventional" forces (see table) while at the same time maintaining the draft system amounts nearly to squaring the circle. With about 3.85 percent of the GNP in 1982 (i.e., less than what the 1977-1982 military program law had anticipated), the defense budget already constitutes an unequalled economic factor. Of the Fr 123 billion devoted to defense in 1982, Fr 78.6 billion (nearly 64 percent) is for buying goods and services, including more than Fr 42 billion for industry and more than Fr 13 billion to the tertiary sector. Of the 90 branches of economic activity censused by the INSEE [National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies], 78 benefit from military orders. In the lead is aeronautical construction, the "industry of sovereignty," as Mr Martre calls it; armament; shipbuilding; and research, of course. Next come sectors considered more peaceable: rail transport, professional electronics, construction and civil engineering, and also the agricultural and food sector. As for "induced effect," according to the ministry's efforts, on the basis of the 1980 figures, "the multiplier coefficient should be higher than 1.7."

But defense is also a very big provider of jobs, challenging National Education for first place. Active-duty military personnel, civilian employees and other jobs engendered directly by the military credits represent about 850,000 jobs (30,000 more than in 1980), which is 4.8 percent of French wage-earners. To these must be added the 262,000 draftees whom the national accounting classifies as belonging to the working population. In addition, they consider on Boulevard Saint-Germain that the military orders play a "decisive support" role in activities whose export side provides about 150,000 jobs. In other words, defense activity in France, in its broadest terms, is the "business" of some 1,262,000 working persons! (National Education, from nursery school through the third cycle, or 10th grade, employs "only" 1,09 million.)

Defense is also a "heavyweight" in the trade balance. In 1981, France, as the world's third-ranking arms merchant, sold Fr 33.8 billion worth (practically

equivalent of the long-term indebtedness of the SNCF [French National Railways]). Nearly 72 percent of these orders have been placed by the Arab states, partly compensating for our oil expenditure. The whole represents about 5 percent of France's foreign trade. In recent years, defense has furnished more than one-third of the budgetary financing for French research and development. Is the new impulse given by Jean-Pierre Chevenement, minister of scientific research and technology, going to help strengthen the civilian part of research and development? Not necessarily, because this category should be very important within the framework of the new military programming law. A law that fits in with the Ninth Plan, prepared by the departments of the Plan Commission (furthermore, a captain has been assigned from Rue de Martignac to ensure a "minimum degree of harmonization"). In conformity with the new government's philosophy.

But it is very unlikely that this future program law will set the same (theoretical) objective as the one that the legislators set themselves in 1976: to do things in such a way that the military credits, by way of steady growth, would manage to reach 20 percent of the state budget (as against 17 percent in 1976).

Finally, defense is a veritable "locomotive" in the matter of technological innovations, with the research and development credits representing each year between 10 and 12 percent, or even more, of the defense budget.

Comparing--The "fallout" into the civilian sectors is spectacular in the areas of nuclear power, space, aeronautics, electronics, mechanical industry, etc. Not to mention the gains in time (through the creation of generations of new civilian or professional products, even mass-consumption products). "Compare us with Japan," an expert stresses; "the weak points of that country's technology--aeronautics in particular--are directly correlated with its still modest effort in the area of military technologies."

In 1982, the armed-forces budget represents only 15.6 percent of the state's expenditures. And everyone understood that the proportion for 1983 was going to be even lower. No, the "commissariat" is really not keeping up anymore.

11267

CSO: 3100/846

HERNU SAYS NUCLEAR DETERRENT FORCES TO REMAIN 'PRIORITY'

Paris LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE in French 19 Jul 82 p 28

[Interview with Minister of Defense Charles Hernu: "Priority to Nuclear Credibility"; date and place not given]

[Text] While knowledge of what the armed-forces budget "ceiling package" is really going to be is awaited, the minister considered it premature to give any response on the 1983 budget in terms of figures, the price to be paid in order to have tomorrow a sufficient "military insurance" or commitment to new programs.

[Question] You yourself have denounced several times the "maximal risk" feared for the middle of the current decade. Shouldn't the very existence of this risk incite us to accelerate the modernization of the French nuclear deterrent force, the pledge of independence?

[Answer] The objective for us is to keep this nuclear force's deterrence above the credibility threshold.

In budgetary terms, the nuclear force therefore remains the priority.

On the technical level, it is necessary to develop and deploy the weapons systems that make it possible to preserve the credibility of our forces in the face of the new threats: progress in antisubmarine warfare, modernization of the antimissile systems, increased precision of ballistic missiles, threats against communications, etc. All these challenges call for responses.

Whence a special effort, the salient points of which are the deployment, as of 1985, of the multiple-warhead M-4 missiles and the ASMP (air-to-ground medium-range) missiles, the permanent presence of three missile-launching submarines on patrol, and hardening of the communications systems.

[Question] Without prejudging the budgetary choices that are going to have to be made in the matter of conventional armaments, what minimum percentage of exports of military materiel do you consider desirable or even necessary?

[Answer] Things are not so simple. Depending on the types of military materiel, the threshold and the importance of the mass-production effect on the unit

prices is highly variable. If we want to have modern armed forces equipped with materiel produced at the lowest cost, it is necessary, in most cases, to export. And this is all the truer when one does not have a budget comparable to those of the superpowers.

In addition, my colleagues in Foreign Trade, Economy and Finance or Labor certainly have their ideas about the contribution of exports to our balance of payments or to industrial activity.

But one must not sell just anything to just anyone! In particular, it is necessary for our exports to be coherent with our foreign policy. In this area, I must say that some changes from the old practices were necessary.

[Question] And European cooperation? How can it be given a second wind?

[Answer] To cooperate, there have to be at least two parties. In other words, it is not sufficient for France to have the political will and the technical means for proposing projects on a cooperative basis; there must also be a party to cooperate with. In this regard, I am thinking more particularly of the future combat tank and the antitank helicopter. It is clear that there is a crisis in cooperation because of the budgetary difficulties of the European states, the cost overruns in the Anglo-Italian-German Tornado program, and also the underestimation, by some, of the political importance of cooperation in giving a concrete character to the relations with our European partners.

Despite these difficulties, I remain optimistic about revival of cooperative projects in the longer run:

--apart from the two superpowers, few countries will be able to afford by themselves the cost of development of the future weapons systems, especially the aeronautical ones. In other words, the necessity of cooperating on the major projects will assert itself;

--France has remarkable experience in the area of working in common. Practically all the big cooperative projects in which it has become involved have been technical, industrial and financial successes. I am thinking in particular of the Franco-German programs for ground-to-air and antitank missiles, and the Alpha Jet.

11267

CSO: 3100/846

JUSTICE MINISTER: NO NEW ANTI-TERRORIST LAWS NEEDED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 Aug 82 p 5

[Article: "Schmude: 'The Laws Are Adequate'" -- A Study of Anti-terrorist Work; Normal Trial Procedures]

[Text] Bonn, 6 August--FRG Minister of Justice Schmude on Friday voiced the opinion that, based on a study prepared in his ministry, the laws aimed against leftist terrorism are adequate. He said there is no need for any new laws or for any expansion of the penal structure. Schmude pointed out that in actual practice the Penal Code paragraphs 88a (unconstitutional advocacy of crimes) and 130a (giving guidance for the commission of criminal acts), which were done away with last year, were of practically no consequence. Of the "anti-terrorism laws" enacted in 1976, only Penal Code Paragraph 129a, aimed at terrorist associations, has proved to be effective. This is a political assessment made by Schmude which does not coincide as unequivocally with the above-mentioned study.

The basis for the study is an evaluation of 279 legally valid judgments pronounced in the period from 1971 to November 1980, which derived from indictments for leftist terrorism. Rightist terrorism was not taken into account. The authors of the study "Criminal Proceedings Against Leftist Terrorist Perpetrators of Criminal Acts and Their Supporters" started out by examining biographical characteristics of the perpetrators. Some of the results of these efforts had already been published last year. Then they took a good look at the criminal procedures (pertinent issues of the accusation, duration of the proceedings) and finally at the sentencing.

The "socio-biographical characteristics" of the perpetrators approximate the image which the public has of them. More women (26 percent) were involved in leftist terrorism than in the total number of criminal acts, particularly where serious criminal acts were involved. There is a strong representation of persons coming from the so-called upper strata (36 percent), but the number of those coming from the so-called lower strata (23 percent) is not insignificant. It was particularly those in the latter category who were directly involved in the execution of the criminal acts. University students, other students, as well as college students who did not complete their studies were involved to an above-average extent (36 percent). A similar picture results if one takes a look at the occupations of the perpetrators at the time of their carrying out their criminal acts.

Interesting are the criminal records of those who were convicted. Of the 203 apprehended perpetrators, 123 had no criminal record (63 percent), only 22 had previously been given "relevant" sentences (11 percent), but 52 (26 percent) had been given sentences which were not "relevant." This shows that also "normal" criminals--those without a political background--can find their way to terrorism. However, what strikes one as being a little artificial is the separation of actual attacks from activities which served the organization and the cohesion of the terrorist groups, such as for instance the provision of weapons, money, and lodgings. In the course of such differentiation, the authors of the study determined that perpetrators from the "lower strata" were more involved in direct assaults, whereas terrorists from the upper strata committed more criminal acts which served the formation and supply of the terrorist gangs. As far as the participation in the criminal act and particularly also the will to carry it out are concerned, it is all the same in the end.

A review of the frequency of committed acts shows that violations of the weapons law are leading to a considerable extent (16.5 percent). Then follow formation and support of a criminal (Para 129 of the penal code) or terrorist (Paragraph 129a) association, with an overall total of 15.6 percent, criminal acts dangerous to the public (9.5 percent), robberies and extortion (8.5 percent), and falsification of documents (7.8 percent). Crimes involving murder accounted for 5.1 percent of the cases. Anticonstitutional support of criminal acts (88a) was proven in five cases, and provision of guidance for the execution of criminal acts (130) was proven in none. Differing somewhat from Schmude's statements, the authors of this study make the following assessment concerning the possible usefulness of these penal laws which have now been abolished: Had they been applied in the course of trial proceedings, they might possibly have played a role with respect to factors which did not come in the investigatory phase.

Only few trials (28 percent) were initially held in district courts. Most of them by far were held before the regional courts (60 percent) and the rest (i.e. the "big" terrorist trials) were held before the Higher Regional Courts. Of the court locations, Berlin stands out, where almost one-third of the trials were instituted, followed at some distance by Munich, Hamburg, and Frankfurt. In cases of terrorist perpetrators of criminal acts, the duration of detention pending trial is longer than in the case of all other accused individuals, a fact which the study ascribes to the seriousness of the criminal acts. In cases of serious crimes without terrorist background the trials are also of longer-than-average duration; the study calls to mind the trials against perpetrators of economic crimes. While it is true that after several criminal trial law changes the number of trial days decreased, the actual duration of the trials became longer (one reason for this being the now possible longer interruptions of the trials).

Finally, the authors of the study pursue the question of to what extent the possibilities within the framework of punishment were utilized. In the case of punishment by imprisonment (in which connection life sentences were ignored) the result is that the framework of available punishment options was utilized at an average level of 24 percent. In the case of some crimes

(robbery and extortion) the rate was 32.5 percent. In summary, the study comes to the conclusion that it is possible to recognize "certain" but not at all "definite" tendencies to punish terrorist criminals more severely than other, comparable perpetrators of criminal acts. Probation is granted to a somewhat lesser extent in cases of minor prison terms. The authors of the study say that this shows that the courts have at their disposal means "which make possible differentiated sentencing. In the majority of cases the courts could have imposed more severe sentences if in their opinion the desired punishment objectives had called for it."

8272

CSO: 3103/613

ELECTRIC POWER PLANTS REPORT EXCESS CAPACITY HAS RISEN

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 10 Aug 82 p 4

[Text] The excess capacity of electric power plants has now risen from 42 to 49 percent. But the electric power association points out that many power plants are old and uneconomical.

From 1980 to 1981, excess capacity of Danish electric plants rose from 42 to 49 percent, despite the fact that the maximum consumption load for electricity rose. This appears from the statistical review by the association of Danish electric power plants, "Danish Electrical Supplies in 1981." It is the maximum load that determines the need for new power plants, because the electric plants must always be capable of meeting the need. In 1981, this grew to 4,820 megawatts while in 1980 it was 4,660 MW. At the same time the installed effectiveness of Danish power plants grew from 6,618 to 7,216 MW.

The excess capacity of the electric plants has been brought out in the debate on nuclear power because the prerequisite for introducing nuclear power is that there is a real need for it. In recent years this need has declined due to the stagnation in electricity consumption. This has changed from 1980 to 1981, since electricity consumption measured in kilowatt hours did fall from 21,970 kWh to 21,850 kWh, but on the other hand installed effectiveness grew much more than maximum consumption.

In the report, the Danish Electric Plants' Association did not go into the consequences of this development in relation to the plans of the electric plants concerning the introduction of nuclear power--not directly. But it stressed that one-fifth of Danish power plants are more than 20 years old and the excess capacity of electric plants "consists mainly of older units with a short remaining lifetime and high operating costs." DEF [Danish Electric Plants' Association] added that they avoid using these plants in daily operations as much as possible, but "when reserve capacity falls to 20 percent in the 1980's, a level that must be regarded as a minimum with respect to guaranteeing delivery, the most uneconomical plants will be used more."

The background for this assessment is the electric plants' forecast of future consumption developments. This is now based on an anticipated annual growth of around 3 percent in electricity consumption, a forecast--as DEF stressed--based on the government's own estimate of future economic prospects.

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CSO: 3106/158

MONEY SUPPLY SHORTFALL HERALDS BUSINESS DOWNTURN

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 15 Jul 82 p 2

[Article: "Money Shortage Having an Impact upon Business"]

[Text] Shortage of business financing from domestic credit institutions is creating major difficulties according to MORGUNBLADID's information. Moreover, as is known, domestic credit institutions made credit considerably more difficult to obtain last month on account of their worsened position with respect to the Icelandic State Bank. There are no prospects for any change in the shortterm. It may be mentioned that the institutions' cash balance has worsened by more than 800 million krona since the beginning of the year.

Leading businessmen interviewed yesterday by MORGUNBLADID were in agreement that money shortage was no big problem for the first 4 months of the year but became very severe in May. For example, business credit has been reduced considerably while public supports have been cut due to more difficult credit. During June the money shortage had begun to create real difficulties in many companies and there has been no abating in July.

The money shortage has, among other things, resulted in a great increase in business defaults. Exchange rates will fall more than expected over the long term and debt defaults will increase regularly. There has been a marked fall in goods deliveries by the shipping companies during the last few weeks and goods are accumulating in their warehouses. There is a large number of unsold vehicles in their warehouses in particular. According to report published in MORGUNBLADID this week it is estimated that there are from 2,000 to 3,000 vehicles at the depots of the shipping companies. At least a fourth are back financed.

One leading importer said to MORGUNBLADID that if there is no change for the better in the next few weeks a considerable reduction in imports will become noticeable generally and many companies will find themselves in major difficulties. An industrialist interviewed by MORGUNBLADID seconded these words. He also said that things could only go one way when a prodigious money shortage complements the difficulties that industry is already having because of the unjust method of determining the exchange rate which has diminished its competitiveness considerably.

It may be said in conclusion that loans of domestic credit institutions to individuals have been at an absolute low point the last few weeks and, according to MORGUNBLADID's information, no change is in sight.

CURRENT YEAR TRADE GAP WORSENS AS IMPORTS CLIMB 23 PERCENT

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 15 Jul 82 p 14

[Article: "General Imports of Goods Grew by 22.7 Percent from January to April"]

[Text] Imports have been substantial since the beginning of this year. Total imports have grown by 11.5 percent during the first 4 months of this year compared to the first 4 months of last year in constant values. Imports of individual capital investment goods decreased considerably, as did imports of raw materials for aluminum smelting and of petroleum.

General imports of goods, on the other hand, grew by 22.7 percent. This means that the actual or quantitative increase in imports has been in the range of 10 to 15 percent over the corresponding period of last year. Imports of passenger cars and motor cycles were 54 percent more in the first quarter of this year than in the first quarter of last in constant values.

The situation is quite different on the export side. Total exports declined by 2.5 percent during the first 4 months of this year in constant values. Exports of aluminum and infusorial earth grew notably, but other exports declined by 6 percent in constant values, or at a still greater rate. The decline in exports of fisheries products was still greater. This was due to a shortage of capelin and a much reduced cod catch. It may be noted with regard to capelin that in years past exports of capelin products amounted to 10 to 15 percent of all exports and that the impact of the collapse of capelin fishing upon the national household has been great.

It emerges from the economic statistics for this month that the payments burden for amortization of loans and the growth of foreign debts amounted to 16.4 percent of total national export income last year and that late last winter it was estimated that the figure will come to nearly 20 percent this year. The sluggish export achievement for the year so far further darkens prospects for the year as a whole and, needless to say, will make the burden of payments heavier.

So far this year prices for most categories of goods are 44 to 48 percent higher than at the same time last year. Quarterly increases in the price index have been considerably larger recently and are much above those for last year, corresponding to an annual rate of increase of 50 percent. The Icelandic Central Bank has begun to measure inflation according to fixed rules with regard to growth determinations. It has done thus since the enactment of the Law on Economics and Other Matters in late 1977. Until then Central Bank documents had not explained how inflation was measured but calculations were based to an equal degree upon price increase of the two previous quarters and the estimated increase for the next two quarters. The previous and next following quarter were doubly weighted compared to the other two quarters. Inflation, calculated according to this method, was 48 to 49 percent at the end of May and this is without any base pay increases.

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CSO: 3111/46

BUSINESS GROUP LEADER: INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIVENESS DOWN

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 14 Jul 82 p 3

[Article: "Competitiveness of Industry Down at Least 24 Percent"]

[Text] "It is in fact absurd to look thus at one branch of industry alone. There are many branches in difficulty that must be taken into consideration," said Viglundur Thorsteinsson, chairman of the Association of Icelandic Manufacturers, the FII, in a conversation with MORGUNBLADID. He was asked his views on the proposals now before the government to save shipowners from those difficulties now confronting them.

If we now follow the path of supports and subsidies it will be, in our view, a violation of that basic rule which must be honored in fishing, that is, to maintain a real set of exchange rates and secure a parity of livelihoods.

Supports and subsidies will, without question, endanger the operations of numerous companies and thus the livelihood of the many employees working for them. It may in fact be said that around 18,000 persons work in the public sector and that does not include the construction industry in which some 17.9 percent of manpower is involved. One must see the forest as well as the trees, said Viglundur Thorsteinsson, chairman of the Association of Icelandic Manufacturers.

9857

CSO: 3111/46

QUEBEC NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION APPRAISED

Montreal LA PRESSE in French 25 Jun 82 p A6

[Editorial by Vincent Price: "End of a Somewhat Disappointing Session"]

[Text] All in all, the legislative session which just ended in Quebec was somewhat of a disappointment.

We will try, in any case, to summarize the most important pieces of legislation and controversial actions taken by the government. And there were a number of them.

First of all, it should be noted that while the Quebec Party, when it was in opposition, vehemently denounced emergency laws, it passed two new ones itself in the last few months. The first forced the employees of the transport commission of the urban community of Montreal to go back to work in January of this year. The second, which was passed as recently as Monday of this week, put general medical practitioners back to work in the same way.

In fact, one could even describe the Hauterive-Baie Comeau merger as a third emergency law. As everyone knows, that merger was imposed on Baie-Comeau against its strongly expressed wishes.

Law No 70, by which the government intends to get back a large part of the wage increases accorded to its employees in the last round of negotiations, and Law No 68, which reduces the pension fund for those same employees, have also tarnished the social-democratic image of the Levesque administration.

Certainly it could not be said that these two measures would justify unionized employees in the public sector claiming that they are the victims of a grave injustice, since despite everything on the average they remain better treated than workers in the private sector, but they may well have made a considerable contribution to undermining the government's credibility as a future employer. Laws 70 and 68, especially 70, in effect constitute breach of promise and of the sanctity of contracts.

Taxpayers will also remember the session just ended as the session of the Parizeau budget, with its record deficit and its new indirect taxes. That budget truly makes Quebec motorists the most heavily taxed in all of Canada.

In other respects, despite the Quebec economic summit, in early April, where it was intended to establish a kind of dialogue among the various economic actors in the province, the social climate continued to deteriorate. Attacks by labor leaders on the government that had claimed to be favorably disposed to organized labor quite naturally increased.

The phenomenon was particularly evident when Law 70 and Law 68 were introduced, and larger issues were at stake, but it could also be noticed on various other occasions. One could even see it, recently, when the minister of labor, Mr Pierre Marios, was introducing his bill on essential services. This bill--extremely milk and extremely disappointing for those who really want to assure that users' rights take precedence over those of workers--was not even applauded by the heads of the labor organizations.

And one should not forget that at the same time the government's relations with the business community--relations which were never very good--hardly improved either. The Levesque administration could hardly expect otherwise, though, since it remained deaf to almost all of business's entreaties. And the recent announcement by the minister of finance of his intention to increase the tax on paid-up capital for chartered banks that refuse to go along with his "voluntary" program to help the housing construction industry recover could hardly make things better.

The last provincial legislative session also saw the Levesque government waste a good deal of its energy in taking revenge for the constitutional setback it suffered. Certainly, it cannot be criticized for having appealed the veto question to the judiciary, but it is obvious that its Law No 62, intended to protect all of Quebec's laws from the new Federal Charter, was primarily aimed at embarrassing the provincial liberals, as were its numerous attacks against the Trudeau government and its "French Power" which it wanted to hold responsible for all of Quebec's ills.

All this, we repeat, has contributed to giving this session a really unpleasant aftertaste, as did those laws that were passed at breakneck speed in the closing hours before adjournment. The Quebec Party, which had criticized this procedure in its predecessors, itself resorted to the same thing.

The government will certainly prefer to remind people of some of the less controversial bills passed, such as the one providing access to the documents of public entities. It will also prefer to emphasize the efforts it made to advance educational reform or the project to integrate Montreal public transport, or its efforts to restructure the institutions of the capital city. But, unfortunately, other memories will remain more deeply graven on public opinion.

9516

CSO: 3100/825

RAMIFICATIONS OF IOANNIDIS-KYPRIANOU DIALOGUE DISCUSSED

Paris LE MONDE in French 25 Jun 82 p 8

[Article by Bernard Brigouleix: "Mr Ioannidis Wants To Wage an Offensive Against Mr Kyprianou by Placing Himself Above Parties"]

[Text] Mr Spyros Kyprianou, president of the Republic of Cyprus, recently proposed before the UN General Assembly the demilitarization and complete disarmament of his country in order to come out of the crisis resulting from the Turkish invasion in the summer of 1974. In an interview given shortly before coming to New York, Mr Kyprianou had, high praise for Greek Prime Minister Papandreou whose positions on the issue are different but with whom he is seeking to become reconciled following their rousing argument last spring (see LE MONDE, 22 May).

Me Papandreou had particularly criticized the Cypriot president, who fears he will shortly not be reelected, over his electoral pact with the pro-Soviet AKEL, the powerful communist party, and his setting up a kind of vigilance committee to keep watch over government activities.

Nicosia--The electoral alliance concluded between Mr Kyprianou and the communists has not only had repercussions abroad, particularly in Athens. It has also greatly changed the factors in the forthcoming presidential elections scheduled for the end of the year or, at the latest, the beginning of 1983.

The most optimistic, in the opposition, declare that far from insuring the reelection of the outgoing president, this "unnatural" alliance between the communist party and the Right will, to the contrary, hasten its defeat. This, at any rate, is the analysis being made in the entourage of the influential leader of the extreme Right, Mr Glafkos Cleridis, and among the socialists of EDEK [United Democratic Union of the Center] whose banner will be borne by Mr Lyssaridis.

Indeed, both camps, themselves very much removed from each other, feel that Mr Kyprianou's traditional following will not rush to mingle their votes with those of the communists any more than to vote for a representative of the most conventional form of capitalism. Moreover, the vigor of the attacks on Mr Papandreou by AKEL leaders, both now and in the past, has not been conducive to rallying around the present Cypriot chief of state an electorate which as a whole has had almost unqualified admiration for the new Greek prime minister.

The outgoing president will therefore enter the forthcoming elections under difficult conditions despite, or perhaps because of, this new alliance. Many here insistently recall that he had been elected without opposition in January 1978. And in an atmosphere at the least exceptional since his son had been kidnaped shortly before the elections, and the kidnaping, attributed to the extreme Right, had brought about the withdrawal of Mr Cleridis' candidacy. The only recent election that gave a measure of the true following of the president and his friends of the democratic party was the one that gave the latter only less than 20 percent of the vote in May 1981.

The signing of a "minimal program" with the communists does not appear of a kind to stop this decline. Who in the opposition can benefit from this decline? Opinions on this point are much more divergent. Mr Cleridis explains, "We are not ready to fight on a single opposition front for someone whose ideas we do not approve of, on the mere pretext that Mr Kyprianou's handling of affairs has been a catastrophe. If there is to be a rallying together, on clear bases, it seems to be most logical for it to take place around the biggest opposition party, that is ours. It is for our possible partners to decide whether they wish, as I hope, to join us in this fight."

On the other hand, Mr Takis Khatzidimitriou, EDEK secretary general, said, "There is no question of compromising in electoral agreements blindly signed with people who are opposed to us. Our party was greatly disappointed in its feeble electoral results in 1981, it is true. Since then, however, it has been able to climb back up again. The situation today is very different, not to mention the spillover that the socialist victory in Greece can have. We are methodically working in the direction of those sectors of opinion on which we could hardly count: businessmen, peasants, for example. In Limassol, even in Nicosia, we are sure of scoring big points. The socialist message is getting through better and this will be realized at election time."

And then there is Mr Georgios Ioannidis... For a long time assigned by Mr Kyprianou to represent Cyprus in the intercommunal negotiations with the "Turkish Federated State," he resigned with a splash because he totally disagreed with the style and the alliances of the president. This "third man" of the opposition could well find himself once again in the number one position, to judge from the interest the recent announcement of his candidacy has created in very varied sectors of opinion. He has acquired, first as a member of parliament, then as minister and finally in his sensitive capacity as negotiator, the reputation of a true statesman,

honest, cultivated and liberal. His opponents criticize him for not having any clear political doctrine and for boasting about it. They nevertheless admit that "he is a charming man whom we would not want to hurt," in the words of a socialist leader.

"A Startling Lack of a Sense of State"

Mr Ioannidis explains, "It is very simply that I want to give my compatriots the chance to be able to vote for someone who puts himself above parties, that is to say at a level that Mr Kyprianou should not have abandoned. This does not at all mean that I am against political parties. To the contrary. I believe that, especially with the drama that we have been living through since the Turkish landing of 1974, we must unite opinion and the parties that express it. As for the setting up of a vigilance committee to watch over government activities and how it implements the electoral promises of 'the minimal program,' this shows a startling lack of any sense of state on the part of anyone claiming to direct it."

Unquestionably, Mr Ioannidis has qualities not frequently encountered among Cypriot politicians. His lofty views, his impressive rectitude. Will they suffice to assure him that kind of charisma without which it is difficult to become recognized in Nicosia, even though the incumbent does not appear very well off in this regard. His friends assure him. They feel that his impact on opinion will still grow to the point of obliging the other opposition candidates to rally to him, at least during the second round of the presidential elections.

At any rate, Mr Ioannidis' goal is not to perpetuate a certain form of state spectacle nor to throw himself into a game of alliances that he has been careful to confuse with the rallying for which he calls. He has only a few months to prevail against a governmental apparatus and a communist party which will not make him any presents. But, also, against an opposition whose parties and leaders might in the long run be tempted, despite everything, to "hurt him."

5671

CSO: 4619/110

JORGEN LINGER SEEN AS LIKELY NEXT LEFT-SOCIALIST CHAIRMAN

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 10 Aug 82 p 4

[Text] Both Steen Folke and Preben Wilhjelm will be leaving Folketing the next time an election is held.

During the annual VS [Left-Socialist Party] balloting, when party members rank candidates for the next Folketing election, the party acquired a new leading candidate, with Jorgen Linger scoring 563 votes.

Jorgen Linger, a member of the Aarhus City Council, currently stands outside the many factions in the party. The same is true of the second person on the list, Folketing member Anne Grete Holmsgard, who received 558 votes.

The two top candidates sympathized earlier with the Joint Union List group, while the third and fourth on the list, Michael Waldorff and Steen Tinning, who are also members of Folketing, are sympathetic with the old "majority group," that makes up the party center.

This is the first time in 8 years that VS has held the so-called "top 20 vote" without Preben Wilhjelm and Steen Folke. The two have bowed to a party rule that says no one can be a member of Folketing or of a city council or the like for more than 7 years in a row.

Under this rule, both of them will automatically leave Folketing the next time an election is held.

Few Women

The participation in the balloting was very low with only around a third taking part and this makes it hard to determine whether changes have occurred in the party since the congress in May, when the union wing around the Joint Union List and the Vesterbro Gang gained a narrow majority on the executive committee.

Only 2 of the first 10 candidates are women and there were only 4 women in all among the 21 candidates.

This is the list of the top 10, with the number of votes in parenthesis:

Jorgen Lenger (563), Anne Grete Holmsgard (558), Michael Waldorff (432), Steen Tinning (430), Elisabeth Bruun Olesen (395), Jens Karl Jensen (374), Ebbe Sonderriis (362), Keld Albrechtsen (330), Klavs Birkholm (330), John Nielsen (327).

While the union wing has a majority on the party's executive committee, there is a clear preponderance of people unallied with any faction or sympathetic to the other wing of the party among the top Folketing candidates.

6578

CSO: 3106/158

CHANCES OF SDP, NONSOCIALIST COOPERATION DIM

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 14 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Lisbeth Knudsen]

[Text] If Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen wants the help of the nonsocialist parties on an income policy next spring, he should not carry out a tax reform with SF [Socialist People's Party] this fall.

With this clear statement to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, Conservative Party chairman Poul Schluter punctured the prime minister's possibility of having the Social Democratic minority government survive from one issue to another during the next few months in Folketing. He wants coherence in economic policy and tax reform and income policy are closely connected as far as the Conservatives are concerned, Poul Schluter said.

After a Social Democratic executive committee meeting yesterday, Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen announced that as early as the middle of next week he will initiate talks with the political parties on the economic situation and the reforms the government wants implemented. The talks were originally scheduled for September. A short round of talks with the parties is expected next week before the prime minister leaves for an official visit to Iceland from 23 to 27 August. The time for the talks was advanced after many internal deliberations in the circle surrounding the prime minister, still greatly disappointed yesterday over the Radical Liberal refusal to take part in the government. Finance Minister Knud Heinesen in particular has urged a quick clarification of the government's survival possibilities and many in the circle around the prime minister view these possibilities with great pessimism.

The pessimism is substantiated by the statements made to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE by the Conservative Party leader. They come after the prime minister suggested the possibility yesterday of the government's implementing a tax reform in the fall with SF and the Radical Liberals and then asking the nonsocialist parties to help out with an income policy in the spring. It is this possibility the prime minister wants to try out in the talks next week.

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CSO: 3106/158

BRIEFS

MERGER OF LIBERALS, CONSERVATIVES URGED--"Only a merger of the Liberal and Conservative parties can get us through the period of hopelessness. The time is now ripe and a strong nonsocialist alternative is what the government fears most. Optimism will return if a nonsocialist constellation gains mastery over the situation and gets a grip on financial policy." So said former finance minister and vice chairman of the European Parliament, Poul Moller, who regards it as reasonable to assume that a credible non-socialist alternative could achieve a regular relationship with both the Center-Democrats and the Progressives so that a stable majority could be guaranteed. The idea has been voiced before. The opposition came from the Liberals. "Joining forces would be like a merger between FDB [Danish Co-operative Wholesale Society] and the Irma food chain. The leaders may agree, but the rank and file, as was the case at Irma, feel a greater degree of independence and protest against the merger," said Poul Moller. [By Helle Ravn Larsen] [Text] [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 14 Aug 82 p 1] 6578

CSO: 3106/158

ARTICLE PROFILES GREENLAND PRIME MINISTER MOTZFELDT

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 8 Aug 82 Sec III pp 1, 3

[Article by Lise Lotte Nielsen]

[Text] Trapper Big Eagle's son Jonathan, the middle child in a family of seven children, decided when he was 14 that he would be a priest and a politician. And when government chairman, Greenland's "prime minister" Jonathan Motzfeldt has decided something, he carries it out.

A meeting with Jonathan Motzfeldt resembles sailing in safe waters, a comparison he would not mind hearing. He is by nature a paternal figure, a strong compact person whose presence fills the space he occupies.

Host Role

Vain? Perhaps a little. Jonathan, as they call him in these parts, is extremely well-dressed. Today, in the foyer of the Arctic Hotel in Narssarsuaq he is dressed in a tweed suit with a dark blue shirt and a white tie with an enamel tie pin of the Greenland Polar bear. It looks good on him.

Siumut [socialist, radical home-rule party], Jonathan Motzfeldt's party, has just celebrated its 5th anniversary with a number of coffee meetings. Greenlanders have elected Siumut people to 13 of the 21 seats on the national council. Siumut means "forward" and one of the major goals of the party is to get Greenland out of EC. The popular referendum in February showed that 53 percent of the voters favored withdrawal. "We are now negotiating for a loose association arrangement. We feel completely alienated in EC. Greenland has a centuries-old tradition of having local trappers' councils--today this means the municipal councils--determine trapping and fishing quotas and policies. It is crazy that people on the continent--not even in Copenhagen, but in Brussels--are administering Greenland's principal trade," said Jonathan Motzfeldt. "We can do this ourselves."

The role of host to the queen, the king of Norway, the president of Iceland and government representatives from the neighboring country of Canada fits Jonathan Motzfeldt. "We feel the eyes of the world are on us now and that

strengthens our self-confidence which is the basis for our growth opportunities in the future," said Jonathan Motzfeldt.

Jonathan travels more than 5 months out of the year. Just before the 1000th anniversary festival, he was in Jameson Land on the east coast to look at the Danish-American test drilling sites for oil. The Joint Danish-Greenland Council for Mineral Raw Materials is preparing a new mining law for Greenland and at this point it is a substantial part of Jonathan Motzfeldt's enormous work sphere.

A day at the office seldom lasts less than 14 hours. "But I am also prime minister, foreign minister, internal affairs minister, economic affairs minister and finance minister," said the chairman of the government.

Jonathan Motzfeldt lives in the beautifully restored Hans Egede House in Nuuk/Godthab with his wife, Margit, who is a teacher from Kastrup, Amager. She has been the Greenland badminton champion several times. Their 16-year-old daughter Karen did not attend the 1000th anniversary celebrations. She is on vacation with a cousin in Dragor, and their son, Klaus Martin, 13, is attending an educational camp on one of the Greenland fjords.

Jonathan Motzfeldt is 43 years old. He was born in the southern Greenland town of Qassimint, near Julianehab. It is inhabited by just under 200 people. He was named for his uncle Jonathan, who was famous for his kayak maneuverings. Jonathan could remain for a long time with his head and body under water, but he always came up again, according to Jonathan Motzfeldt. "The name Jonathan actually means 'gift of God' and I am glad for that. In 1807 our ancestor came here as a national official. His family came from Lueneburger Heide and then settled in Norway. He lived in sin with a Greenland woman and that is why there are Motzfeldts here."

Boarding School

Jonathan did not know a word of Danish when he was sent away from home to boarding school at the age of 13. He went first to Julianehab. He passed his middle school exams and then his teacher's exams, which in his own words he has never used. Then he studied theology at Copenhagen University. He earned every penny for his studies. He was a freelance reporter with Greenland Radio in Copenhagen and often had interpreting jobs for ministries and for the Royal Greenland Trade Company. These jobs gave him insight into a number of things that helped to mature his ideas on the formation of the Siumut Party, which should probably be placed just to the left of the Social Democratic center, including SF [Socialist People's Party]. The party had five founders. In addition to Jonathan, they are Moses Olsen, GRONLANDSPOST-EN editor Jorgen Fleischer, Lars Emil Johansen and Finn Lynge, who is now a member of the European Parliament.

It caused a stir when Jonathan Motzfeldt arranged the first Greenland demonstration in front of Christiansborg in 1964. He wanted to strike the birthplace criterion. This was done. He wanted to introduce home rule and that happened in 1979.

His student years were busy and hard and not at all dull. Jonathan Motzfeldt asked me to say hello to his good student friend, actor Ulf Pilgaard. With warmth and a good long look, he mentioned the now deceased theologian, Jorgen Bukhdal, Jr. From him he received one of the most important items in the official residence, a harmonium. Jonathan loves to play it. A few years ago his sister gave him a harmonica and he entertains his many friends with songs and dances. This happens frequently. Jonathan is by and large a happy man.

Working Day

In the middle of a busy working day--in which every minute is arranged and programmed--he may very well take a break to go and visit friends. They say he can very well set aside an issue in order to talk to an individual on personal matters instead.

It is not just those closest to him who are familiar with Jonathan's music. His songs are played on almost every one of the two weekly Greenland request concerts. The favorite is "Siulivut Nunarpullu," which can be directly translated as, "Homage to the People of Greenland." The melody was written by his good friend, composer Sven Erik Tarp. "We had such a good time while it was being written," says Jonathan Motzfeldt.

As often as possible, Jonathan Motzfeldt attends church and on his trips, he often fills in for former colleagues and conducts a religious service. Recently he preached a sermon in the Seamen's Church in New York. For several years he was a minister in Sydproven Church, which now has a new altar table made of driftwood. He was also a minister in the lovely red wooden church in Julianehab--the church where the altar has a dramatic picture of Jesus calming the storm. On the south wall hangs a lifebuoy from the "Hans Hedtoft" and a tablet bearing the names of those who are still out there.

"When I worked as a minister, I worked all week on my sermons. I admire my colleagues who can improvise in the pulpit. I have to write it down and then read it," said Jonathan Motzfeldt. "I really like to preach. Naturally I keep politics out of the pulpit. It is a solid Christian foundation, the good trapper home background, my family and nature that give me my strength," Jonathan Motzfeldt said.

Trapper

He is a trapper himself and has shot many seals. As early as possible, he and Margit and the children go out on the fjord in their lovely 23-foot Norwegian-built boat, "Amos." It is named after the prophet--"He fought against injustice and I know I would like him if I met him," says Jonathan Motzfeldt.

There is also time for writing--mostly poetry. And reading and other things besides statistics and legislation. He took along when he went to the festivities in the country of the Norse Greenlanders--the present sheepherders

region--a Greenlandic version of H. C. Andersen's fairy tales prepared by former radio chief Frederik Nielsen and pieces by Johannes V. Jensen and Jeppe Aakjaer in Greenlandic. He is reading "Soldier Schweik" and has just reread Johan Borgen's "Denmark, Most Beautiful."

Jonathan's work sphere, the biggest island in the world, is impressive--like the man himself. His calmness and his links to nature are good to be around. But just as the weather in Greenland can change, Jonathan--like everyone else--can become angry and then he resembles a high-tension power plant. As in other matters, he is concise in his anger and when he has said what he thinks, the sun shines again.

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CSO: 3106/156

PRIME MINISTER MOTZFELDT VIEWS UPCOMING POLITICAL ISSUES

Godthab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 28 Jul 82 p 14

[Text] The specter of the birthplace criterion will finally be laid to rest now. Further work to weaken it will be one of Siumut's [socialist, radical home-rule party] main issues in the fall session of the Greenland parliament, according to the head of the Greenland government.

Since the introduction of home rule, almost 4 years have passed "in our own house." The popular referendum showed that people want to break with EC and the negotiations still indicate that the withdrawal date of 1 January 1984 can be met. In the view of the government, these facts are a signal that the next few years should be devoted to a much greater extent to concentrating on internal problems pertaining to Greenland.

"Therefore I feel it is quite natural that the election period beginning after the parliamentary election in April 1983 should be devoted primarily to internal problems concerning Greenland," said government leader Jonathan Motzfeldt in a talk with AG [GRONLANDSPOSTEN].

We had an opportunity to talk to the head of the government just before he went to Jameson Land along with the rest of the executive committee of the Joint Council on Mineral Raw Resources.

"It will be questions of a cultural, economic and business structure nature that will carry the political debate for the next 4 years," said Jonathan Motzfeldt, who announced that the government and the Siumut Party would start moving in this direction as early as the upcoming fall session.

Erosion of the Birthplace Criterion

"We do not yet know in detail what the fall parliamentary session agenda will look like," said the head of the government, but it has already been decided that the government will make a strong effort to further weaken the birthplace criterion. "This specter must finally be laid to rest."

"There is a very concrete political move on the way in this respect, since the government will propose the elimination of the so-called 'dispensation board.'"

Separate Arrangements for Specialists to Continue

Jonathan Motzfeldt is not unaware that there will continue to be some areas in which separate arrangements will be needed. This is true of medical personnel for the health care system and highly qualified technicians, for example.

"But the trend must be clear. We must weed out the number of concrete situations in which we feel, day by day, that there is still differentiated treatment and our intention is that the debate in the fall session should be very concrete and not just a statement of political intentions," said the government leader.

Political Continuation

When the government and Siumut argued within the ANISA [Greenland Anti-EC Movement] cooperation for Greenland's withdrawal from EC, Jonathan Motzfeldt used words like this: "It is unreasonable to have the economic situation in our country artificially fanned by subsidies from outside sources."

"There is a political continuum in the efforts for equal wages for equal work," he says now.

"The wage and employment conditions in this country must also be adapted to the level the economic developments in Greenland are able to bear.

"We cannot always look at Danish wages and compare ours with theirs. It is an accepted fact that our country is such a special area within the national community that solutions must be found that are specifically adapted to Greenland and the conditions of this country.

"Both politically and psychologically I believe in the importance of arriving at a situation in which everyone in this country lives under the same conditions and in which these conditions correspond to the economic capacity of this country."

6578

CSO: 3106/156

HESSE'S GREENS HOLD CONGRESS, REJECT COALITIONS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by Bernd Erich Heptner: "Hesse's Greens Want No Part of Coalitions with 'Established Parties'"]

[Text] Hofheim, 15 August—There seems to be no more urgent issue occupying the Hesse Greens' minds than who is to speak on behalf of the party in TV debates. At their Land congress this weekend in Hofheim am Taunus no other topic was discussed with such vehemence and at such length. Hurt pride, ambition and the fear that the Frankfurt Greens might try to steal the show and take over the reins of the Hessian Land organization were such that those taking part in the discussions were carried away sufficiently to engage in personal attacks. At length, one of the Greens present was heard to say: "When substantive issues come up for discussion, everyone leaves the hall. But when dirty linen gets washed, everybody comes back and the list of speakers gets longer and longer." Outside the hall, another man was saying: "If TV ever filmed these childish debates, we would be done for in the Landtag elections."

What started the controversy was that the party's Landtag candidates recently got together and decided in a pragmatic and "media-oriented" way that those of them who "put on the best show" and had the "greatest gift of gab" would represent the Greens in TV debates. But this type of decision making process was not in line with the Greens' idea of "grass roots democracy." For this reason, many of them—including quite a few who could barely hide their own interest in appearing on television—insisted that the Land congress should have been consulted first. And this was now done last weekend. The verdict of the party congress was that all Greens are equal and none are more equal than others. In principle, all Greens could go "on television." But the Landtag candidates may decide among themselves who should do so when. Thus, at the end of a 3-hour debate, the original pragmatic decision of a few days ago was accepted by the "basis" after the fact; the "basis" in this particular instance consisting of some 80 Greens who represented the allegedly 2,500 party members and had come to attend the "plenary meeting" in Hofheim.

The real purpose of the meeting, however, was to agree on what position the Greens are to take vis-a-vis the other political parties. Of some 60 Greens who were in the hall when the vote was taken about 50 reiterated the well-known Greens position that they are not prepared to enter into a coalition with the "established parties" and that only "pinpoint cooperation" on particular issues would be considered. The question of whether to "tolerate" an SPD minority government in case there was a "Hamburg-type result" at the

Hesse elections was not definitively answered at the Hofheim meeting but the course and outcome of the debate indicated that the Greens would not. The final resolution said: "We do not propose to make any concessions concerning good behavior at this time. The form and content of our policies will be decided by ourselves. The Greens in Hesse feel that their political and social responsibility forbids them to agree to or enter into any compromises affecting issues of life and survival or to depart from the grass roots democratic view of what they stand for. The Greens are prepared to work together with the established political parties on substantive issues or, for that matter, with individual deputies, if these find the demands and program proposals in the Greens' platform for Hesse acceptable. But we are not prepared to deviate from our basic views or to abandon Green principles in exchange for a catalogue of demands which could never be complete."

This resolution was contrary to the views of a minority which feels that the Greens must become "politically acceptable" and be ready to enter into compromises. This minority believes that only in this way could a wider public be won over to the policies of the Greens. With an uncompromising all-or-nothing policy, the Greens would appeal only to the intelligentsia and never obtain more than 5 to 10 percent of the vote.

But the majority held to the "fundamental opposition" view and to the conviction that the Greens would be corrupted, if they shared power. One party member said: "We must work for an outcome such as in Hamburg. Ungovernability should be our goal. People don't want to be governed; they want to be able to decide their fate themselves." The aim should be to get the FDP out of parliament and to confront the SPD with the choice of either having to enter into a coalition with "Dregger-Dracula" or to listen to the conditions of the Greens. The fact that these utterances were not roundly applauded was not due to their content but to the drastic language used. A delegate from Frankfurt said there was a need to "crack the power centers open and stay the course." He was applauded for saying so. He then went on to call the debate about supporting the SPD a secondary matter. The idea was to "alter the consciousness of the people" and thereby create "pressure from the outside" in order to achieve a different type of politics as well as different political contents. This, he said, was a matter of 5 to 10 years. The "man who wanted to alter consciousness" was told that one could not create "an entirely new society" but most of those present appeared to agree with him just the same.

The discussion about the controversial Libya trip by Hessian Landtag candidate Gertrud Schilling—who is No 2 on the Greens list—showed once again how radically the Greens' views differ from those of the other political parties on what the functions of the state and of society are. Mr Vogt, a member of the Greens' national executive committee, still calls the trip a positive experience although he has been urged to resign; but Ms Schilling last weekend at Hofheim seemed prepared to make amends—though not as concerned the speech she gave in Qaddafi's presence parts of which were later published but as concerned the trip itself which she now calls "politically naive," thereby mollifying the Hessian Greens somewhat. It appears that the

Greens did not object to what Ms Schilling told Qaddafi which was that the Greens "have set their sights on abolishing the legislatures in the long run and to practice direct democracy;" that they wish to "unbalance and destroy the power game" of the other political parties. Taking the Libyan People's Congress as a model, she said by her own admission in Libya, "we have organized ourselves in the Green party and are aiming to achieve similar things for all citizens." The demand for the abolition of the legislatures is old hat for many Hessian Greens who do not consider it worth discussing further. But when one asks what should take the place of the parliaments, one receives different answers and sometimes no answer at all.

9478

CSC: 3103/638

PAPER CITES USSR'S OVERFISHING IN LIGHT OF TREATY TALKS

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 15 Jul 82 p 20

[Editorial: "The Soviets and Overfishing"]

[Text] Matthias Bjarnason, member of the Althing and former minister of fisheries, says in a MORGUNBLADID article published yesterday that Steingrímur Hermannsson has long desired to renounce the 1977 agreement with the Russians on scientific cooperation in fisheries. Hermannsson's reasons are the measures against overfishing of redfish, which is caught in large numbers by the Soviet trawlers operating outside the Icelandic 200-mile limit. Bjarnarson, on the other hand, wants to find out first, with respect to the agreement, whether or not there is mutual interest among Icelanders and Russians in protecting those species of fish caught by Iceland and the Soviet Union. Bjarnason is against renouncing the 1977 agreement until it has been ascertained how the Soviets interpret scientific cooperation in fisheries. We second the views of Bjarnason and call upon Steingrímur Hermannsson to take action.

9857

CSO: 3111/46

BRIEFS

LABOR PARTY BEGINS CAMPAIGN--Hertogenbosch, 17 Aug--The Labour Party officially opened its campaign for the September 8 general elections in this southern Dutch town on Monday night. Campaign leader Kees Bode said Labour would primarily propagate its own platform. "We will defend our own identity. This does not mean however we'll shun a fight if forced upon us," he added. He expected an election battle with strong anti-Labour overtones. Labour's leading candidate, former Social Affairs Minister Joop den Uyl, stressed at the meeting that his party would stick to its policy of a parallel development of wages and social security benefits. He said that plans were being developed to break the link between wages and social security benefits to "second-rate citizens," he said, adding that the Labour party would not accept such a development. Mr den Uyl reiterated that his party would not accept government responsibility for the stationing of new nuclear missiles in the Netherlands. He criticized the CDA party's leading candidate, Prime Minister Dries van Agt, for his 'unreasonable demands' on this issue. Mr den Uyl wondered whether these demands met the requirements of political ethics since they amounted to a blockade of Labour participation in a new cabinet. Meanwhile, four prominent Labour and CDA leaders have accepted invitations by the Socialist VARA broadcasting corporation to take part in a televised debate on Monday, September 6. They are former Housing Minister Marcel van Dam and former Culture Minister Andre van der Louw (both Labour) and floor leader Ruud Lubbers and Farm Minister Jan de Koning (both CDA). [Text] [The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 18 Aug 82 pp 2-3]

LUBBERS' VIEWS--The Hague, 13 Aug--CDA floor leader Ruud Lubbers told a television interviewer last night he wanted to return as floor leader after the September elections. He said he was not seeking a ministerial portfolio but would return as floor leader if the CDA parliamentary party elected him. He warned that the post-election CDA parliamentary party should be homogeneous and that there would be no place in it for dissidents refusing to support a government of which the CDA was a member. (Under the first Van Agt cabinet, a centre-right coalition between the CDA and the Liberal VVD party, ten CDA parliamentarians refused to undertake to support the government, but they never voted against it when it would have brought about its fall.) [Text] [The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 14 Aug 82 p 1]

COMMUNIST PARTY APPEAL-- Amsterdam, 17 Aug--The communist party's leading election candidate, Mrs. Ina Brouwer, called here on Monday for consultations of the Labour, pacifist PSP, radical PPR and communist CPN parties before and after the September 8 elections to set the scene for a leftist government. Every effort should be made to prevent the formation of a cabinet by CDA leader Dries van Agt, Mrs Brouwer said at the start of party's election campaign. The progressive parties should take the initiative for the formation of a new cabinet to ensure that Mr van Agt could not carry out a policy aimed at the acceptance of nuclear missiles and at breaking down the social security system, she said. A major social struggle was ahead to check the reduction of the number of jobs, create new jobs, protect the minimum income brackets and safeguard the independence of women, Mrs Brouwer said. [Text] [The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 18 Aug 82 p 3]

PEACE MOVEMENT ON ELECTION--The Hague, 16 Aug--The Dutch peace movements have jointly distributed a folder urging the electorate to vote in the September 8 general elections against the stationing of new nuclear weapons in the Netherlands. The folder points out that only the Labour, radical PPR, pacifist PSP, communist CPN and right-wing protestant EVP parties are opposed to the deployment of new nuclear weapons here. Last November the organisations responsible for the folder, which includes the Roman Catholic Pax Christi movement and the Inter-Church Peace Council (IKV), organised the huge demonstration against nuclear weapons in Amsterdam. The folder says that the Liberal VVD party is in favour of accepting the new cruise missiles in the Netherlands. It further points out that CDA party Dries van Agt is also in favour of this, while the CDA election platform does not rule out acceptance of the missiles here. [Text] [The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 16 Aug 82 p 2]

CDA CRITICIZES PEACE MOVEMENT--Voorschoten, 18 Aug--The CDA party feels that the Inter-Church Peace Council (IKV) and Pax Christi peace movement's advise to the electorate to vote for the left-wing parties in the September 8 elections undermined the Geneva talks on the reduction of nuclear weapons. (The two organisations made this call last weekend, stating that the left-wing parties were the only political parties which rejected the stationing of new nuclear weapons in the Netherlands.) The CDA party executive and the party's second chamber members noted in a communique after a meeting here on Tuesday night that the U.S.-Soviet talks in Geneva on the reduction of nuclear weapons were of essential importance. The party hoped that these talks would make stationing new nuclear missiles in the Netherlands superfluous. People undermining these talks by making premature statements assumed great responsibility because they increased the risk of inadequate result of Geneva negotiations. The CDA had confidence in a positive result of these talks, the communique said. [Text] [The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 19 Aug 82 p 1]

CSO: 3120/89

UCD, PSOE UNITE TO OUST RTVE DIRECTOR

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 23 Jul 82 p 12

[Article by Joaquin Prieto]

[Text] The 9 months which have passed since the appointment of Carlos Robles Piquer as director general of RTVE [Spanish Radio and Television] have been marked by a fierce political battle between the Left, on one hand, and the UCD [Democratic Center Union] and the Democratic Coalition, on the other. Accusations that Robles Piquer is gradually leaning toward Fraga and the growing dissatisfaction of Centrist sectors with his administration have been determining factors in the effort to bring about his downfall, if indeed his replacement is not the result of a pact: the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] was pushing for the appointment of an "inside" professional as acting director until the elections--according to Socialist sources--, and Nasarre is not the solution they sought, although he is well known to the Left for his former cooperation in opposition to Franco.

A special Council of Ministers session named Carlos Robles Piquer as director general of RTVE on 23 October 1981. A few hours earlier Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo and Agustin Rodriguez Sahagun--presidents of the government and of the UCD, respectively--had forced the resignation of the man who held that post at the time, Fernando Castedo, breaking the UCD-PSOE agreement which had permitted his appointment.

Robles began his term by defining himself as "a man of the center, in small letters," a friend of Calvo Sotelo since adolescence, in spite of which the latter did not give him any orders: he only told him that things were not turning out well, "for example in the use of the language and in the carelessness with which cultural content was presented," and in the treatment of moral and family values which most of the people hold dear." To such slight directives--at least from the political point of view--Robles Piquer added an apparently aloof attitude toward the job: besides stating that he did not want to be stuck in that position, he expressed his hope he could last "at least until the general elections, if I don't get blown up by a mine."

In the weeks following, Leftist protests took to the courts as a socialist recourse against the appointment, "because they believed the general principles of the RTVE Statute had been subverted, since Castedo's resignation arose from political demands and not from questions of his professional competence." The Supreme Tribunal declared the appeal inadmissible, and the PSOE went to the Constitutional Tribunal. Castedo himself did not make too much of the pressures to which he was subjected, when he was called to appear, along with Robles Piquer, before the parliamentary control committee.

Meanwhile, the Left was implementing its first political battle against the director general: at the end of March Santiago Carrillo accused him of turning television into "the political organ of the broad Right," while Alfonso Guerra denounced as "coupist" the TVE report on the 23-F trials, particularly because of its emphasis on phrases which sought to implicate the king in the preparations for the coup d'etat. The offensive, begun in Parliament, continued in that public body's Council of Administration. This first battle did not prosper, due to the fact that UCD and CD [Democratic Coalition] solidly maintained their support for Robles Piquer and hindered or blocked, as the case required, the various attempts to attack the director general's administration.

UCD Changes Attitude After Andalusian Elections

A report published by El PAIS at the end of March asserted that TVE news broadcasts "give the same amount of space to the political parties and the Parliament as they do to the weather reports." Another study of the same factors revealed, 2 months later, that "Manuel Fraga was the politician who received most TVE coverage in the electoral campaign for the Andalusian Parliament."

RTVE's news coverage of the Andalusian elections was severely criticized by the Socialists, but it was also criticized by some UCD sectors. On 11 May, Rafael Escuredo, at that time a candidate for the presidency of the autonomous Andalusian Government, had called publicly for the resignation of Robles as director general of RTVE. The PSOE-UCD confrontation coincided with open warfare within the RTVE Council of Administration, in which representatives of the Centrist party defended RVE's news format against criticisms made by socialists and communists of "a systematic impoverishment of national news," as well as the "unjustifiable egotistical use of the medium" by the director general.

When the Andalusian campaign was over and its results known--an absolute majority for the Socialist Party and a predominance of the Popular Alliance over the Democratic Center Union--, criticisms of the RTVE director general's administration expanded to include substantial sectors of the UCD itself, which thought to find a direct relationship between the news programs offered by that medium and the Centrist failure in the elections.

The day after the Andalusian elections, Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo and Felipe Gonzalez held a meeting in Moncloa palace, a good part of which was devoted--according to subsequent newsleaks--to the RTVE problem. It appears that the Socialist leader called for the replacement of Carlos Robles Piquer as director general of RTVE, arguing that that measure was of as much interest to the UCD as to his own party, since the news program offered on the small screen had favored Manuel Fraga. Based on this meeting, part of the government and the Centrist sector closest to Adolfo Suarez pressed for Robles Piquer's resignation, thus splitting the firm support given him by the UCD and AP[Popular Alliance] up to that time. Things being thus, the communist motion in the courts asking for Robles Piquer's dismissal was quickly reactivated. Support of the initiative by part of the Socialist Party and the aforementioned dissatisfaction within the UCD--and the critical or reticent attitudes of other minorities--appeared to augur a moral reproof of the director general of RTVE in the Congress of Deputies. The government--and more specifically its president, Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo--worked to avert eh reproof; government circles said that Robles Piquer's dismissal was not up to Parliament, but other political and public opinion sectors had no doubts about the "moral censure" against the RTVE director which would be voted in Congress and whose political repercussions might even reach the chief executive himself.

It was under such circumstances that the voting took place in the plenary session of the Congress on whether or not to include in the day's agenda the motions calling for the resignation of the director general of RTVE. To the surprise of many, 29 Leftist deputies--23 of them from the PSOE--were absent from the floor at the crucial moment, which caused the defeat of the Left's petition and saved the government from defeat.

Unexplained Agreement

The first explanations concerning this outcome indicated an agreement between UCD and PSOE, by which the Socialists declined to cause the fall of the government in return for Centrist support for the candidacy of Joaquin Ruiz-Gimenez, PSOE candidate for attorney general. Sources within the PSOE executive denied the existence of such an "exchange of favors" (in fact, UCD did not support Ruiz Gimenez in the aforementioned voting and gave another story: Carlos Robles Piquer would be replaced shortly as head of RTVE by an acting director who would carry on until the next elections. The president of the Socialist parliamentary group, Alfonso Guerra, expressed his confidence in the immediate termination of the RTVE director: "The government," said Guerra, "is going to have to fire him, because he has already become an internal problem within the UCD."

The last phase of the political fight against Robles Piquer has centered around the broadcast of the program, "Golpe a la turca" [Turkish-style Coup] the evening of 18 June, which agains set the Suarists and the Leftist parties against the director general of RTVE, charging that the content of the program defended coups d'etat. The RTVE parliamentary control committee approved a very moderate text mentioning two articles of the RTVE Statute which had been violated, precisely those which could cause the

dismissal of the director general. The RTVE Council of Administration opened a file on Carlos Robles Piquer and decided unanimously that there had been "objective negligence" on the part of the director general with respect to the program in question, although that unanimity was shattered when the time came to establish whether the program violated Article 3 (respect for and defense of constitutional values) and Article 4 (principles which must inspire RTVE news reporting) of the RTVE Statute.

This happened on 14 July. A week passed between the verdict of "negligence" and the resignation of Robles Piquer, in the midst of the internal reorganization of the Centrist Party.

Lavilla's First "Goal"

The naming of Eugenio Nasarre as director general of RTVE implies, in fact, that Landelino Lavilla has scored his first "goal" in Spain's real power apparatus. Because Nasarre, a Christian Democrat from the first along with Joaquin Ruiz-Gimenez, is considered one of the men closest to the new, all-powerful head of the Democratic Center Union.

Assuring himself of control of television with a figure like Eugenio Nasarre--who is not difficult for other political forces to accept--Lavilla is beginning to put into practice his policy of "total control," not limiting his actions by criteria of representativity of the various Centrist political families. In any case, Lavilla already had a certain amount of internal support in TVE, where his former press boss, Manuel Roglan, directs one of the news broadcasts. The few faithful followers that Lavilla had before his election as president of UCD appear now to be called to perform key functions in the party apparatus and, perhaps, even in an upcoming, reorganized government.

The name of Juan Antonio Ortega y Diaz Ambrona, present secretary of formation of the Centrist party, is constantly mentioned as an aspirant to "higher duties." Manuel Villar Arregui and Fernando Alvarez de Miranda are other Christian Democrats who might end up accepting responsible positions. Both, like Inigo Caverio himself, present secretary general of UCD, admit that the ideal solution for the party in power is named Lavilla.

It seems more improbable that other personalities very close to Lavilla, such as attorney Daniel Garcia Pita (who practices in the office of the liberal Antonio Garrigues) or the diplomat Ramon Gandarias, cabinet chief in the presidency of the Congress of Deputies, will be promoted to other jobs.

Escuredo Calls for Dismissal of TVE Director in Andalusia

The president of the Autonomous Government of Andalusia, Rafael Escuredo, sent a personal letter yesterday afternoon to Ignacio Romero de Solis, regional director of TVE in Andalusia, asking for his resignation.

Escuredo, after congratulating himself of the resignation of the director general of the public enterprise, Carlos Robles Piquer, reiterated that Romero de Solis's administration "does not respond to the needs and demands of the Andalusian people," according to our correspondent in Sevilla, Jose Aguilar.

After recording that the regional director was named by the director general, who has resigned, the president of the first autonomous Andalusian government said that Romero de Solis should resign for reasons of personal and political cohesion. In addition he asked him "not to continue in a situation which I, as president of the Junta of Andalusia, consider untenable." Ignacio Romero de Solis has been director of the regional TVE center since last spring, and it was during the electoral campaign for the Andalusian Parliament that Rafael Escuredo began to criticize his administration.

8735

CSO: 3110/184

PNV PRESIDENT CRITICAL OF LOAPA, UCD, PSOE, ETA

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 26 Jul 82 p 10

[Interview with Xabier Arzallus, president of the National Council of the Basque Nationalist Party, by Tonia Etxarri in Bilbao; date of interview not specified]

[Text] "The LOAPA [Organic Law for Harmonizing the Autonomy Process] is a joke. The bishops have understood that, they have grasped the profound sorrow of the majority of this people, and they have publicized their criticism, which does not happen often," stated Xabier Arzallus, president of the National Council of the National Basque Party [PNV], concerning the harsh pastoral letter published Saturday by the prelates of the Basque Country in regard to the controversial LOAPA. "They did not interfere in politics," he continued, "because the desire that this people should find peaceful solutions has nothing to do with politics, but with the most basic coexistence. They have felt serious concern in the face of the possible approval of the LOAPA and they have remarked on it. Concern for peace does not mean interference in politics." Arzallus, born 49 years ago in Azcoitia in the midst of a Carlist family, is the leader of the hegemonic party in the Basque Country. In an interview granted to EL PAIS, hours before debate was to begin in the senate, he declared: "It is still a bill; it is a matter of preventing its becoming law. If it goes into effect there can be a repetition of the formula of the era of statute law: a simple written text is not carried out."

[Question] The pastoral message by Basque bishops on the LOAPA has produced an enormous commotion at precisely the time when there is an exacerbated sensitivity on the subject in the Basque Country. What do you think about the position taken by the prelates?

[Answer] I was not surprised by the Basque bishops' pastoral message against the LOAPA. These gentlemen, who made a commitment against violence when many people still remained in their houses--I am referring to the presence of

Bilbao's auxiliary bishop in the demonstration that we called against terrorism last May--have expressed themselves clearly in favor of peace. For me the key to the pastoral message is in the sentence where they indicate that they are not choosing this subject in order to elevate it above the 'other threats to justice and peace.' The bishops do not go into technical details. They simply reflect the popular uneasiness with a law that harms the Statute.

The LOAPA is a joke, the bishops have understood that, they have grasped the profound sorrow of the majority of this people, and they have published their criticisms, which does not happen often.

[Question] Was the bishops' document political?

[Answer] The bishops are not involving themselves in politics with this pastoral message. The desire that this people should find peaceful solutions is very important, and has nothing to do with politics, but with the most basic coexistence. They have felt serious concern in the fact of the possible approval of the LOAPA and they have remarked on it. Concern for peace does not mean interference in politics. And this should be clearly understood by those who on more than one occasion have called on the church to speak out against violence.

[Question] It is said that the PNV has had something to do with the pastoral message.

[Answer] It is not true. My party has supported the bishops neither directly nor indirectly. I personally found out about the document in the newspaper. In Madrid they ought to reflect on what the LOAPA means for the Basque Country. When we say no we mean no. The proof of the profound uneasiness being felt in the Basque Country on account of the possible approval of the LOAPA is that not only the university has spoken out against it, but the church as well has publicly made known its disagreement.

[Question] Would the PNV be satisfied with the statutory development if there were no LOAPA?

[Answer] Not necessarily. It is one thing that there is a retreat, as in the case of the LOAPA, and another thing that there is a slowdown, as with the slow pace of the transfers. In my conversations with President Calvo Sotelo I have always indicated our concern above all regarding the LOAPA. On one occasion I stated to him that I would prefer open constitutional reform to reform behind my back, as with the LOAPA. He responded that the harmonizing law needed to be approved as soon as possible to prevent further deterioration in the Spanish political situation, but he also promised me that some fundamental agreements would be reached. And now it is clear: The LOAPA is almost unchanged. I understand that Calvo Sotelo has been a slave to the PSOE, because I have my suspicions about how this LOAPA was brought into being, overshadowed by the 23rd of February; but in this respect I should also say that Calvo Sotelo did not keep his word to me.

This LOAPA, which supposes an express, tacit, imposed or assumed commitment in view of the situation created after 23 February, is causing us a lot of worries. The PSOE knows perfectly well that if there had been substantial changes in the harmonizing law we would have supported the UCD policy. Therefore, the entire socialist policy has been directed toward defending, with more enthusiasm than from the centrists, the law injurious to the Statute.

[Question] But let us return to the PNV's attitude in case there were no LOAPA: Would its appraisal be positive in regard to the statutory development?

[Answer] I am not satisfied with the statutory development, but it is much more acceptable than a retreat or a possible retreat of this magnitude.

[Question] What does the PNV intend to do if the harmonizing law is passed? Will it defend the necessity of not observing it? Will it propose that it be endorsed by the Basque people by means of a referendum?

[Answer] Not to observe the LOAPA... We are observing the Statute because it is a law that is positive and endorsed. And however much the LOAPA may be an organic law, if, as we understand it, it rescinds certain provisions of the Statute--being approved as an organic law--a conflict will develop between the central government and ourselves. We can ask for a referendum, even though it may not be granted to us. At the moment the LOAPA is still a bill. As long as it is still a bill, we will carry out a series of measures to avoid its becoming a law; we will attempt to avoid this at all costs. If the LOAPA is still passed, legal means remain. Nevertheless, it also depends upon its degree of application, because we can have a repetition of the era of statute law: a simple written text that is not carried out.

[Question] Just as the criticism of the harmonizing law has brought closer together the positions of the Basque and Catalan nationalists, its very existence can impede good relations with the president of the Andalusian parliament.

[Answer] It is possible. If the LOAPA is good for the Andalusian socialists, then we have no objection to its application in Andalusia. But we do not want it to be applied here.

[Question] In addition to the possible obstacles to autonomy that, in the opinion of your party, the LOAPA would produce, does the PNV in particular, as the majority force in the Basque Country, consider itself the main target of the central administration's desire for harmony?

[Answer] Well yes, We also want harmony, and I have already said that we have demonstrated that no more than one occasion; but in signing the autonomy pacts there can be no doubt that they were considering us! My interpretation is that the LOAPA has arisen from the central government's conviction that the Basque Statute's time has passed and that here there is a play of political forces with a parliament in which the central parties have no great strength.

[Question] In the event that the PNV were approached regarding the possibility of participating in a central government, under what conditions would it accept?

[Answer] It all depends on whether there is a restored UCD or a consistent PSOE in the government. Nevertheless, we have no desire to participate in a central government at this time, because we have already done it in 1936. We had a minister under very unfortunate conditions. It all depends upon the conditions imposed on you when power is controlled. Because for us one of the fundamental aspects--although few people believe it--is the control of power. We are now absent, as Basques, not only from the government, but from an Audit Commission and from a Constitutional Tribunal, and we would have wanted to participate in those organizations, be it only to let the voice of autonomy be heard.

[Question] What do you think about the persistent criticism received by the PNV in regard to its use of the elections on the basis of its constant dispute with the central administration?

[Answer] I could show that that is false. But certainly, there have been confidential conversations. I can relate something that I have carried with me from the time of Suarez' resignation. When it came to the investiture of Calvo Sotelo I was there, along with Marcos Vizcaya, Martin Villa, Perez Llorca and Pio Cabanillas. It was the night before the journey of the monarchs to Basque Country. We then made an offer that consisted not only in voting in favor of Calvo Sotelo, but in collaboration and in parliamentary support, in exchange for the previous defining of several fundamental points of the Statute. And later we proposed establishing a permanent point of contact so as to present to them in advance any bill that was to be submitted to parliament, in the same way that we required them to consult us first on any legislative initiative that might affect the Statute. They did not accept. I believe that their conscience must be bothering them.

[Question] On numerous occasions you have attributed your party's differences with Herri Batasuna [Popular Unity] or ETA to the violent methods that they espouse. Is that the only discrepancy? Perhaps there is some identity in the political and ideological goals that both sides are pursuing?

[Answer] Evidently the ideals are very similar, although one must make serious distinctions. We are not really a revolutionary party, and these gentlemen in the way in which they express themselves are light-years away from what we favor as a political course. In regard to national aspirations, I have nothing against the KAS [Patriotic Socialist Coordination] as an alternative. I could endorse it from top to bottom. Its practicality is another thing, but that is not the main obstacle. It is not just the ends, but the means as well that are important when it is a matter of being able to concur with someone. And at times the means can distort the ends. One of our objectives is to restore nationalism, with a personality of our own.

[Question] Does opposing the ETA still imply negotiating with it?

[Answer] Of course, But I am more sceptical all the time. I believe that the ETA lacks the will to negotiate, because when the opportunity presents itself it imposes impossible conditions and, on the other hand, I see neither the strength nor sufficient representation in the Spanish Government to begin negotiations. In this sense, in any case, I believe that we could contribute much if we had the political power granted to us by the Statute, which is no more than the right to defend our lives and property.

[Question] This is a subject that during the past year has provoked bitter disputes between the Basque Government and the state representatives in the autonomous community...

[Answer] You said it. Between the Basque Government and the state representatives, in the plural, because there is a double state presence in the autonomous Basque community. To have a government representative, in addition to the civilian governors, is an original way to solve political unemployment, but I do not understand it.

9746

CSO: 3110/192

UCD'S LAVILLA OPTIMISTIC ABOUT PARTY, DEMOCRACY

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 15 Aug 82 pp 14, 15

[Interview with UCD president Landelino Lavilla, by Miguel Angel Aguilar, in Madrid; date not specified]

[Text] Contrary to common sense, and out of a sense of responsibility: this is how Landelino Lavilla described his acceptance of the presidency of UCD [Democratic Center Union] at the meeting of that political council held on 12-13 July. The respected president of the Congress of Deputies, and number one man in the highly exclusive group of attorneys in the State Council, with obvious background in other critical areas (secretary of the Council of the Spanish Bank of Credit, and head of the Catholic Publishers), defeated in the Congress of Palma de Mallorca, where he headed the Centrist critics of the time, and a cautious person (therein lies the clause on return, which allows his immediate predecessor, Calvo Sotelo, to resume the presidency of UCD), he considered himself obliged to drink this Centrist cup that he would have preferred to decline.

A fine jurist, and precise in his manner, he is striving to dissociate his new, added responsibilities as president of the party from those which he has exercised, with a success acknowledged by all, since the establishment of the present legislature in March 1979, as president of the Congress of Deputies. Strongly addicted to intellectual activity, and moreover forced by reason of his institutional position to reflect constantly on the reasoning and arguments of each and every one of the parties with parliamentary representation which have a seat on the Spokesmen's Board of Congress, Landelino Lavilla is now threatening to assume the belligerent position of the UCD leadership, when the bells heralding the imminent election campaign can already be heard.

Those who have brought him to this area will receive the response from his previous experience in the Jaen district, for which he received a deputy's certificate, and in which he fought on behalf of other party colleagues in the Andalusian regional elections on 23 May. He is considered as a keen contender in the political battle, but has predicted his rejection of aggressiveness, which is completely out of keeping with his usual personal style.

Firmly entrenched on the right, the architecture of his mental faculties relates to weighty concepts far removed from the daring and projections of the opinion polls, and the campaigns of political imagery, with the twists of Baroque carvings, which are liked so much in the agencies of Rafael Anson.

A brilliant speaker, his address on the third anniversary of the Constitution (filled with emotional democratic stringency, which made demands on all of us) will go down in the anthologies of the parliamentary genre.

His intellectual coolness has kept him alert to danger, without letting down his guard. In oral or written exchange, it is very difficult to make Landelino Lavilla say what he has decided to be silent on. This is probably a virtue of a proven political "baron," but it has not failed to cause despair for the reporter who is seeking an opening for a hot news item in closeness and personal contact.

Of the questions announced in advance for this interview, he chose to skip the one relating to those (Federico Silva, Afonso Osorio, Miguel Herrero and Oscar Alzaga) who were removed in an attempt to raise a Christian Democratic banner, and those who are inspired by the current extreme orientation of the press apparatus which is traditionally closest to that cause. He put off for further explanation some enlightening statements of his in LA VANGUARDIA during 1973. Therein lies the clue for fans of the periodical libraries.

Other questions already answered were promptly reinforced by actions or statements by the government or its president, Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo. For example, that of the attempt declared in a flight over the Atlantic to repeat the Centrist operation of 1977, this time adding Adolfo Suarez, Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, Antonio Garrigues Walker and Oscar Alzaga to Landelino Lavilla. For example, that of the "countersign" represented by the appointment of Carlos Robles Piquer to the Institute of Ibero-American Cooperation, an appointment to which might be promptly added others such as that of Jaime Mayor Orjea to the government delegation in the Basque Country, and that of Gen Jose Gaston Molina to head the Infantry Academy in Toledo.

At the UCD's executive headquarters on Arlaban Street, the new secretary is working during these August days inside, without the burdensome pressure of telephones. The new distribution of offices is almost finished, to accommodate all those who have been appointed; as well as the new iconography, after a careful elimination of the posters and stickers of Adolfo Suarez, which had invaded everywhere with his electoral smile. Landelino Lavilla, who has not yet arranged for his office, received the reporters in the office of Juan Antonio Ortegas.

[Question] Now that you are in the presidency of UCD, which you assumed on Tuesday, 13 July, how do you interpret the course of action taken by your party since the election victory of 1979 and, more recently since the operation of the "critics" before the congress at Palma de Mallorca in February 1981?

[Answer] The course of action pursued by UCD since 1979, insofar as political and government action are concerned, appears to me to have been positive on the whole; because it has represented the putting into operation and the development of the democratic institutions called for in the Constitution. However, I must admit that there have been flaws and inadequacies which we are attempting to overcome in the new phase that has begun.

As for UCD's internal problems, it is obvious that they could not be solved, unfortunately, at the time when they occurred, through internal debate and agreement,

and with the necessary discipline. The Palma congress did not catch the conflicts that existed in the party. The proposal that I made at that congress was intended to begin a process of regeneration and clarification of the party as a Centrist option.

Subsequent events have proven that members of the party, including some who backed my proposals at Palma, were able to disregard their Centrist commitment and move to other political options. In any event, I am attempting to regard the divisions as being surmounted, and to work with all those who still believe, as I do, in a political plan of the Center.

'The De Facto Authorities Are Not Seeking to Supplant the Political Authority'

[Question] The time that has elapsed makes it possible to consider with perspective the political evolution undergone by some of the leading defenders of UCD's internal democracy, who were then so close to you. What objective role would you assign them now, in the process of an explosion of the Center shown in recent months?

[Answer] There is no real correlation between the defense of internal democracy in the party and the political evolution of some toward the right. Internal democracy, starting with a militant rank and file that is enlightened and identified with the Centrist plan, still seems to me to be an unavoidable necessity. By internal democracy, I mean the effectiveness of political debate among the members of the party, abiding by the majority decision and respect for the minorities, with external discipline in any event.

The political evolution of those individuals whom you have mentioned has no connection with their defense of internal democracy. I simply think that they have changed their opinion, because they have joined another party, or have created a new one.

Obviously, I find no objective reasons for that change of opinion. It is impossible to explain the departure from the party of this or that individual because of UCD's simultaneous shift to the right or the left. We are well aware of the contradiction of those who call for unity among those who are alike, so as to break off from those with whom they have shared a common plan up until now. The explanation must be different, associated with the proximity of the elections and the expectations that they arouse.

[Question] The accounts given by Adolfo Suarez and Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo of what happened at the meetings of the "Trilateral" are conflicting. As a third participant, could you explain what you think were the reasons, the convictions or the pressure that were expressed, which prompted Calvo Sotelo's publicized refusal to propose and back as his own the candidacy of Adolfo Suarez? What were the real demands made by the former president?

[Answer] I have already explained in the political council that the three of us agreed that the situation would require stand-by powers. There was no agreement that Adolfo Suarez should assume the presidency, an action which he himself made contingent on its being proposed, backed and upheld by Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo.

[Question] At your first press conference as UCD president, on the night of your election, you claimed that you would like to have the support of Adolfo Suarez. In launching his CDS, Suarez has been generous in his praise for you, and has repeated his best wishes for the office that has been entrusted to you in UCD. Is it possible that some agreement might be proposed, as was noted in Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo's statements while flying, and as has already been requested by the Toledo provincial committee? On what bases could it be implemented? Would it go into effect before or after the elections?

[Answer] I expressed my desire to have support from Adolfo Suarez, and I did so because of a political assessment and also because of the personal esteem and affection that I have for him. Adolfo Suarez' decision to undertake a political plan parallel to that of UCD, but outside of UCD, seems to me to be a mistake. I see no objective reasons for a separate plan.

Moreover, and as you know, it is the UCD line, approved by the political council, not to make coalitions before the elections.

[Question] Do the unmistakable features of religious denominationalism and the not to be underestimated relations with the power centers of big banking that are attributed to you presage any position established by you toward the de facto authorities, which are noticeably bent on taking from the political authority the preeminence established in the Constitution of 1978?

[Answer] The ones that you term de facto authorities, apparently referring to the Church and the banks, are not, in my opinion, seeking to take from the political authority its constitutional powers. My religious convictions confirm my commitment to democracy as a system which best guarantees the dignity of the human being. I expressed that commitment unequivocally in the speech which I delivered before Congress on 9 December of last year, which certainly voiced my idea concerning the preeminence of the political authority.

[Question] Whereas the 1977 and 1979 elections were a contest that took place in the center of the field, to use soccer terminology (the Centrist right wanted to win votes from PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party], and the Socialist left wanted to win votes from UCD), last May, Popular Alliance and the CEOE [Spanish Confederation of Business Organizations] attempted a bipolarizing plan in Andalusia. In the forthcoming campaign, will UCD opt preferably for the left-right axes, or will it give priority in its positions to the defense of the constitutional system of liberties against the attempts to take us back to authoritarianism?

[Answer] UCD's great achievement has been to shape a political picture that is unprecedented in our troubled history up until now, wherein the majority sector of voters have been able to remove themselves from the traditional Spanish temptation toward extremism. But, at the same time, there has been a second supplementary effect, reinforcing the former one: With the Center occupied by a majority political force, joined together in an authentic party of masses, there has occurred a centripetal tension in the left and right wing parties, attempting to extend their electoral frontier exactly to the center and, consequently, producing proposals that are progressively moderate. In my view, that is the most positive occurrence in this period, an occurrence with genuine historic dimensions, which no one is entitled to jeopardize out of electoral expediency or party interest.

'I Don't Believe in the Electoral Viability of an Independent Liberal Plan'

From this standpoint, in ratifying its center option, UCD will attempt to prevent, insofar as it is able, the bipolarization of Spanish political activity, which has had such bad effects in the past for the stabilization of liberty and democracy with coexistence among the Spanish people. Obviously associated with this plan is our desire to uphold and maintain the Constitution in its entirety.

[Question] What plans have you devised to undertake the regeneration of UCD? What are your predictions concerning the liberals who are still in UCD after Antonio Garrigues Walker's arrival on the scene?

[Answer] The regeneration of UCD requires an effort on all levels, carried out by a membership that has been purified and enlightened, aimed at a renewal of both the electoral offer and of the individuals. All the party's organs will be working in that direction during the coming months. Our major concern at present is to offer a group of concrete solutions to the problems worrying the Spanish people, eliminating for once and for all the excessive attention paid by the politicians to their own problems. Our intention, I repeat, is to arouse the hopes and confidence of the Spanish people in their own capacity for progress, under a strong leadership, with definite goals, which is what we are attempting to offer.

Insofar as the liberals are concerned, it is my opinion that their ideological contribution has been one of the essential components of UCD since its founding, and is part of our political assets in all areas relating to respect for the fundamental rights and public liberties, the state of law, and our idea of the parliamentary system and the leading role of the civilian society in political action. On the other hand, I don't believe in the viability of a separate, independent, liberal plan, except one of a testimonial and electorally marginal nature.

'We Want to Compare Our Option With the Other Groups'

[Question] You have requested 6 months of your party, which end on 13 January. With this timetable in front of you, where would tend to place the calling of elections, and on what bases do you consider agreements with other parliamentary forces capable of guaranteeing the date selected possible? How would you eliminate the risks of involution which seem to be threatening this final period, brought on in part by the government's weakness?

[Answer] The maintenance of a legislature until its normal constitutional expiration, at all costs, is not in itself a positive asset. What could be described as positive is if the conditions exist that would allow for that normal duration of the legislatures. But when those conditions are not present, the logical and feasible thing to do is to call for new elections at once, so as to explicitly insure the connection between the people's wishes and their parliamentary representation. At the present time, I am analyzing the possibility of the conditions existing to continue the legislature; although, in my opinion, it is not fitting to create those conditions artificially, for example, on the basis of short-term pacts or coalitions, contrary to the nature of the parties and confusing to their electorates. As I see it, if there is a sincere continuation of this logic of

parliamentary democracy, the system will become consolidated. Furthermore, I don't believe in real dangers of involution, much less any that could stem from the government's action. Nevertheless, it does not seem erroneous to me to think that those who are causing instability in the established parties are cooperating very little in the consolidation of a democracy that has been established precisely on the parties.

[Question] UCD's progressive right wing was able to receive unequivocally democratic votes in 1977 and 1979, and PSOE's moderate left wing was voted for without scruples by a large number of Catholics. The behavior of both parties interacted in such a way that Spain became politically inhabitable. Do you consider that electoral profile of UCD valid for the coming elections, or do you think that a clarification with the basic goal of preventing the Socialist victory at all costs would be preferable?

[Answer] The political message of UCD, marked by its strong desire for modernization of Spanish society and its moderate position in political action, is an electoral profile that is valid for the forthcoming elections. Our belief in liberties and our desire to serve the greater progress and prosperity of our fellow citizens complete that profile.

We wish to compare our option, before the electorate, with the Socialist option and the conservative option, from which it is definitely different. But our option is not a mere negation of either, rather it is an affirmation of our convictions. I am not an advocate of mere assumption of positions based on antagonism.

[Question] On 23 May, in Andalusia, the so-called natural majority concerning which a strange triumphalism has occurred, succeeded in reducing the election results of the right-of-center to numbers far lower than those received by UCD alone in 1979. What is your position on this permanent proposal by Manuel Fraga?

[Answer] In my opinion, the so-called "natural majority" is not a potential reality, but rather a myth, with the meaning that this term has in the social sciences. It projects the image of a fictitious, unachievable future, associated with sentiments of concrete social sectors to force them into action. Those sentiments, which unquestionably exist in certain areas of Spanish society, are based on the belief that the Spanish people must, perforce, become aligned in only two political groups, right and left, and that apart from them there can be nothing but ambiguity, confusion and lukewarmness. I differ greatly from the hypotheses of this proposition which are aimed directly against the very foundations of Centrism. That is why, strangely enough, this statement, except of course for the personal respect due to the one who made it, has had more destructive than constructive effects, without, in my opinion, being able to produce an actual real majority.

'Without Coordination With the Government My Administration Would Be Impossible'

[Question] Do you consider your committed administration as head of UCD viable, without any control over the government, which is where the greatest capacity for conveying an image to the public lies? What is left of the party's most brilliant political statement when, the next day, there occurs, for example, the appointment

of Robles Piquer to the presidency of the Ibero-American Institute of Cooperation; that of Jaime Mayor Oreja as the government's delegate in the Basque Country (including a threat of the resignation of civilian governors); or that of Gen Jose Gaston Molina to the Infantry Academy?

[Answer] I consider my administration heading UCD to be viable. Its being easy is something else. It will not be, unquestionably, but I have confidence in it. The coordination with the government is essential. Without it, my administration would be impossible. However, it is obvious that I do not have the responsibility of the government. In any event, the appointment of Carlos Robles Piquer to the presidency of the Ibero-American Institute of Cooperation seems correct to me, in view of his competence and proven professionalism for this type of work.

[Question] You are held greatly liable for the erosion suffered by the parliamentary groups, when you did not consider valid the resignation signed in advance by Manuel Clavero Arevalo, when he decided to dissent from UCD. His example was followed by many others who ended up in the Mixed Group or found a way of making increasing demands in exchange for their remaining. As president of the Congress, what is your opinion of the Socialist group? How would you evaluate the benefit and maturity of its contributions during the legislature?

[Answer] It does not appear to me that the advance resignation of the seat with a blank signature is legally binding, especially when, as it in fact occurred in one instance, it was followed by a statement of a wish contrary to that resignation. But when the advance resignation does exist, it seems ethically and politically binding to me, because it states unequivocally that the offer and acceptance of the candidacy were made under certain initials, under the aegis of a leadership and with the political and economic backing of a party. The corollary to this type of acceptance should be the free restitution of the seat when one leaves the party through which it was gained. This ethical requirement becomes more imperative when the electoral system, as in the case of the Congress, is one of closed and blocked lists; because the voter casts his vote, not for an individual, but rather for a party option.

With regard to the last part of the question which you have asked me, as president of the Congress, it is obvious that, as such, I should not voice any opinion supplementing what may be gleaned from the direction of my vote in the Chamber itself.

2909

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AP'S FRAGA ACTIVE IN BUILDING POSSIBLE COALITION

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 14 Aug 82 p 9

[Article: "Jose Ramon Lasuen Announces an Agreement 'In Principle' With Manuel Fraga's Party"]

[Text] Jose Ramon Lasuen, head of the Social Democratic Federation and former adviser of Adolfo Suarez during his presidential term, has announced the existence of an agreement in principle with Manuel Fraga for the integration of his group into Popular Alliance [AP]. In political circles, this news was considered a sign of Fraga's efforts to cover the maximum electoral space possible, without neglecting his left wing, in which there is a convergence with the various political forces vying for the center.

The predominance of parties located left-of-center in the political spectrum (Francisco Fernandez Ordonez' PAD [Democratic Action Party], Adolfo Suarez' CDS [Social Democratic Center Party] and the potential "platform" that may be formed with independents such as Raul Morodo) and the polls which anticipate a shift toward the moderate left, have advised Fraga to attempt to cover that flank.

Other political observers claim that Lasuen's inclusion in Fraga's group only serves to introduce a new element of confusion for the electorate; and they attribute this pact "against nature" to Lasuen's desires to climb on the political bandwagon "wherever it may be," after his past differences with the left-of-center sectors. Lasuen is of the opinion that, "There are only two leaders capable of carrying the electorate: Felipe Gonzalez and Fraga."

Lasuen explains his option on behalf of the latter thusly: "The reality of the world shows that the socialist economic proposals are valid in times of prosperity but useless in times of crisis; therefore, I have decided to become allied with Fraga, because that is the best solution." The politician who, up until now, has been of Social Democratic ideology, said that the agreement with Fraga would materialize in September, although AP "has already accepted the economic program that I have devised during recent months."

Meanwhile, "flights" from the Democratic Center Union [UCD] to other parties, preferably the Social Democratic Center Party, are continuing to occur, such as that of the Centrist deputy representing La Coruna, Perfecto Yebra, who has resigned from the commissariat for the Holy Year and the presidency of the Santiago UCD. The Centrist senator from Alicante, Roque Calpena, for his part, has joined AP.

Juan Manuel Margalef, the Centrist deputy in the Catalanian Parliament, has also joined CDS, and seven others are expected to do so. Twelve of the 17 deputies in the parliamentary group met yesterday to analyze its situation following the "flights" that have occurred.

At the meeting (Elena Lorente reports), it was decided to attempt continuity, so as to finish the legislature. The decision was made with the acknowledgment that the new Suarist party in Catalonia and the membership therein of deputies who, up until now, have been affiliated with CC-UCD, will actually determine the provisional maintenance of the group.

2909

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PSOE DEPUTY DESCRIBES VISION OF SOCIALIST ADMINISTRATION

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 10, 11 Aug 82

[Two-part article by Pablo Castellano: "The Socialist Challenge"]

[10 Aug 82 p 10]

[Text] The author, a member of the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] left wing, reflects on the possibilities of his party's action if it should come to power, and concludes that, since the Socialist capacity is limited in the area of economic problems, it should direct its activity toward the expansion and establishment of democratic liberties and rights.

With the free market (?) economy which, logically, is not an economy, but rather a mismanagement and misappropriation; which is not free, but rather a slave to the interests of the multinational companies and of brazen imperialists; and which is even less a market one, because when it is analyzed it reveals its shared, divided and distributed monopoly structure; it is impossible to make additional embellishments sufficient to achieve a solution to the world and local crisis when, in addition, the crisis is the public evidence of the more than disclosed irrationality of a system.

The socialists who reach the government in the Western countries are comprised of more or less social democratic, populist or liberal socialist parties with respect to economics; and without a break in the economic model, little or almost nothing can be done. They have their hands tied, and well tied, by the contradiction of upholding unjust structures and wanting to make the effect thereof more just.

At best, they may mitigate some consequences, the overly scandalous ones; but most often they become good, honest administrators of the crisis, well-intentioned easers of the dissatisfaction and thwarted mediators of the disorder, attempting to have the state administration not foster it further still when, in addition to the crisis, there are right wing governments which are there to put the state in the service of a manipulation of the crisis, benefiting from it.

Hence it will not be in the area of the troubled world, European and Spanish economy which, furthermore, UCD [Democratic Center Union] will attempt to leave in an avowed state of bankruptcy here before "the others" arrive in the government, that the Socialists will be able to work miracles, following the passage of the hordes practicing the scorched earth policy. In this realm the so-called

gradualist Socialists have the wind in their favor, and the explanation for their caution, fear or prudence is quite easy.

Where some Socialists will not have the slightest excuse is in the area of individual and collective liberties, the guarantees for the exercise thereof, progress in their conquests and the perfection of justice, liberty and democracy, however formal they may be.

And in this land of privileges based on corruption and repression, a Socialist program imposes a radical, democratic, libertarian option with respect to liberties, a firm one in the area of justice, a serious one in public administration, and a conscientizing and intransigent one in the area of cultural training and critical reporting. With respect to liberty, justice and democracy, anyone who compromises, yields, negotiates or tolerates privileges is an accomplice and, therefore, culpable.

When it is impossible to make a radical change in the structures of economic exploitation, which give rise not only to poverty, but also alienation, cultural poverty and political domination, putting a decisive end to the scandal of corruption and repression is almost revolutionary.

The Socialists must attempt to return to the spirit of progressive interpretation of the Constitution of 1978 which, although insufficient and cautious, turns out to be a milestone of coexistence and change in the light of Calvo Sotelo's black 2 year term.

Reasonable economic sacrifices may be requested, but we cannot allow the continuation of the situation of curtailment of liberties and unpunished corruption that we have been witnessing.

Authority With Democratic Laws

A Socialist phase must represent the authority of a democratic law, and a democratic justice against terrorism, and also against coupism.

The authority is exercised with democratic laws, and the so-called Antiterrorist Law or the Law in Defense of Democracy are not such; with democratic police and democratic juries; with a right to defense that is very extensive and not evaded, as is occurring at present in most of the police stations; and with single, excluding and exclusive judges, without national political hearings or state attorneys general, that are outrageous, allowing all kinds of crimes and fraud to pass under their noses, which are even carried by the newspapers without any repercussions involving their necessary prosecution.

Justice is administered with democratic judges bent on making justice a public service and not a reactionary, elitist, closed, formalist and nostalgic "Bunkerism" among those who are promoted to that position, with that peculiar system of coopting among those selected.

There is a need for a democratic judicial police, and not government police with soft jobs in the justice system to serve as a group connected with the old

General Directorate of Security and its sewers, who have certainly been made to tremble by the possibility of a defender of the people, and who have successfully moved to delay the latter's going into operation.

And there is a need for the entire government police, the so-called National and Civil Guard and their commanders, even though they may come from the Army, to be exclusively subordinate to the Ministry of Interior and to receive not a mere change of uniform, but rather a uniform democratic and constitutional training, at a reliable General Police Academy, which cannot come under former torturers nor sworn enemies of democracy, but which is rather associated with both the School of Public Administration and the Judicial School.

And unity of jurisdictions must become a reality without delay, a desire and a constitutional principle which is a joke here in this land of privileges.

Those courts and small courts which have lawlessly evaded judicial control, whether they be called National Hearing, Economic-Administrative, labor or military, must, as the Constitution stipulates, give way to an administration of justice which is specialized, but truly single, not only in name, and effective and democratic, with compulsory people's participation in the jury, as required by the Constitution.

To Correct the Excesses

The prison establishments, which nowadays are warehouses of men and women, a negation of the most fundamental dignity, a school for criminals and a market for corruption of a certain ring of civil servants, wherein political discrimination is practiced even in the ministry itself, in favor of or against the servants of the former system and their privileges, need another philosophy different from the policy of construction works and new top security buildings, so as to seek the neglected rehabilitation of which there is no vestige other than the sarcastic term.

And one can hardly speak of an equality before the law and actual judicial protection without a serious restatement of justice free of charge, and of the right of the dispossessed to defense, which has nothing to do with that paternalism, and what is worse, the rotation of office. When the state institutionalizes the accusation, it must institutionalize the defense, which must not be left to the market of a few shrewd persons nor falsified with budgetary contributions.

The laws on conscientious objection, authentic religious freedom and real separation of Church and State have not been achieved, nor has an authentic modern Penal Code, which is apparently impossible to attain when it has threatened to give a real treatment to economic and social crimes. (Someone may try to introduce into it the fraud against unemployment, but the incompatibility between public positions, responsibilities and wages will never be introduced.)

And we must put an end, for once and for all, to the constant rumor about pressure from the so-called de facto authorities. Either the government and the Cortes represent the civil authority, and all of it, or it would be preferable to close shop. And if the inherited structures allow the Higher Banking Council (which was apparently created for this), the Episcopal Conference and the Higher Council of the Army to engage in politics, those excesses will have to be corrected;

because one group stems from the ill-disguised banking monopoly, and the other from the masked Catholic privilege; while the latter results from the existence of a military authority paralleling the civilian authority, with its captaincy generals and military governors, which are not necessary, because the military structure must be limited to the ministry and its headquarters.

[11 Aug 82 p 10]

[Text] As a conclusion to his view of what a Socialist government program should be, the author cited the need to fight against corruption and privileged status, especially in public administration, and concludes that Socialism should at least represent a quality of morality, integrity, authority and solidarity.

If liberty, justice and democracy are not authenticated and, in addition, hunger and need must be suffered owing to the crisis, a bad final judgment may be given as the assessment of a Socialist term in office.

A Socialist term which carries out the reform of the state administration and which courageously puts an end to the economic privileges of the high-ranking members of the administration (who engage in "numerus clausus" [closed membership] in appointments and "numerus apertus" [open membership] in salaries, among whom everything is verbal prestige, influence peddling and work that is meager and poor), will obviously not put an end to unemployment; but, with its position, it will end that other scourge, namely, an administration that is idle, poor, disrespectful toward the taxpayer, arbitrary and immune from punishment.

Because we must put an end to the scandal, so as not to be labeled as accomplices; and, furthermore, by so doing we shall be preparing for the rearmament of this democracy, which is now weak and threatened.

The possibility of reducing unemployment lies precisely in the battle against corruption and privilege, in a country such as ours which so badly needs that boasted quality of life.

It is not fair that there are no public schools or teachers at the disposal of our rural and suburban children, while hundreds of students from teacher training institutions, who graduated from them many years ago, are unemployed; and there is more than enough land on which to build schools, and to provide every town with school units. And this situation becomes scandalous when one also realizes that private education receives, among various gifts, more than 50 million pesetas per day in subsidies, a substantial part of which goes to a Catholic Church which is still elitist, interventionist and acritical, if not brazenly nostalgic.

It is a crime that there are no services for the safeguard and control of health, sanitation or food purity, nor laboratories and inspections, when the number of unemployed citizens who are biologists, veterinarians or in similar fields, prepared for this work, is increasing daily, and the majority of town halls are neglected in this area, for lack of human and material resources. This disregard for public health becomes criminal when its results are called homicidal as a result of carelessness, fraud and cheating, as we have observed in the case of the colza oil.

It is indecent that there are no necessary public health and assistance establishments when there exists a plethora of physicians who are unemployed or underutilized, on the one hand, and, on the other, physicians who have obtained positions in the civilian and military public administration for minutes, with their private professional practice, which has priority, protected for weeks.

There is no justification for the lack of libraries, cultural centers, popular theater groups, musical ensembles or film productions, while there is unemployment among actors, musicians, script writers and those certified in history, philosophy and letters (from all fields, in short), at best doing work that entails a misappropriation of the money that the state has invested in their training for service to society.

From Justice to Business

It is improper for judicial matters to be delayed for years, and that there are no courts, judges or scientific aides in the administration of justice from the fields of psychology, psychiatry and sociology, while there are thousands of unemployed among both those with law degrees and those with other types of related and supplementary learning, so that there may remain as an elitist and closed group the bureaucratized, ineffective magistracy which makes a joke of the affirmation of the right to justice, equality before the law and its availability free of charge, when, furthermore, all this brings its technical qualifications and reliability into question.

It is unacceptable that there should be a delay of months and months in paying the taxes on any document to the treasury, and a similar delay in recording them in the pertinent register; as well as the fact that there are no decisions made on the action and appeals that these may cause, misusing administrative secrecy, without an expansion in the personnel of state attorneys, notaries, registrars, etc., so that the socioeconomic privileges of these closed groups remain in the world of castes and turn them into pressure groups, which has typified them.

It is a flagrant injustice that the workers should be kept waiting for months and years, after their rights have been acknowledged, to receive the amounts due them from the Wage Guarantee Fund, the unemployment subsidy, the wages pending or loans from the Work Protection Fund, and that there are not prompt, periodic inspections in all business firms to observe failure to obey the social laws; forgetting that in these instances, behind every case, there is hunger, human frustration or dissatisfaction and the creation of a permanent state of aggressiveness.

It is not right that social housing cannot be built, and that there is no real cooperative credit, while there is luxury housing in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, etc., built by ministries and autonomous agencies for their high-ranking officials which, owing to the facilities with which the housing is provided, can give their "beneficiaries" 50 percent of the price of a square meter, in comparison with the amount that a worker pays in Leganes, Hospitalet, Baracaldo or any other working-class district in our large capitals for a poor, inhuman dwelling.

It is cynical that small and medium-sized business should be left to its bad luck, while the state budget is used to revive bankrupt banks, to put firms that have been insanelly established on a sound footing and to protect the 200 families

which traditionally represent the financial world, or to finance investments of the multinationals in Spain, which are, in addition, given tax and credit privileges.

Moralization of the Society

The citizens are also standing by bearing in mind, besides the evidence that has been given, those 2 billion pesetas which escaped from Switzerland, with the government's complacent impassiveness; what is still going on every day in some police stations, with the right to legal assistance, and almost every day in some jails, which now appear to be a programmed suicide factory; as well as what is happening in most of the civilian governments, with the manipulation of the money from the community unemployment. And millions have appeared to subsidize the nuclear powerplants, from the electric monopoly, with unwillingness to invest a single peseta in the rural area; or there is the scandalous situation of failure to implement the Law on Manifestly Improvable Properties.

All this and much more must be said without euphemisms or hedging, calling for bread, bread, and for wine, wine, in class language. Moreover, it is an unconcealable truth that honest people, however conservative they may be, will recognize those who are to blame for this situation and who are benefiting from it, and those who want to put an end to it in a democratic way.

The use that one class or the other makes of the state must be disclosed.

Some are now attempting, again, for the sake of standing as firmly as possible in their privileges, to tell PSOE to become moderate, because moderation is what has given it a partial victory and will give it total success. But PSOE will be given victory by the sincerity of a class analysis, and by not disguising the reality in which we find ourselves, with a firm disclosure of how the political, and even the Church and military power operates in the service of the economic interests.

In Spain, with the Socialists there must triumph the hope of an ethic for lending moralization to Spanish political activity again, in opposition to the administered corruption offered by part of the right, and the corruption plus repression for which others yearn, to be reborn by hands that are not clean from a democratic standpoint.

The 1976 reform has reached the limit of not wanting to reach anything, and the counter-UCD of UCD itself has buried it amid a noisy uproar of ambitions, in a vulgar brawl of scoundrels and cheats.

Socialism, here and now, could at least represent that quality of civic spirit, morality, authority, solidarity, integrity, humility, modesty and responsibility of which this people ceased to hear any mention in 1939, upon the arrival of the assassins of the Republic, who have bequeathed their heirs to us.

COALITION BUILDING FOR UPCOMING ELECTIONS IN FULL SWING

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 9 Aug 82 p 11

[Article by Fernando Jauregui: "The Policy of Coalitions Will Create Two Centrist Blocs Close to AP and PSOE"]

[Text] Madrid--Although still subject to great uncertainty, the policy of coalitions, a key to the elections which, it is expected, will take place in November, has appeared quietly during this month of August, threatening to bring many surprises in the coming weeks, with the foreseeable demarcation of two blocs, right-of-center and left-of-center, respectively.

Most of the statements by the leaders of the Center parties stress the maintenance of a "majority inclination," and the desire to run alone in the elections. But there is one exception: all of them will abide by what is decided by their national congresses or their top-ranking guiding entities. Both Adolfo Suarez' Social Democratic Center and Oscar Alzaga's Popular Democratic Party, as well as Garrigues' Liberal Democratic Party or Fernandez Ordonez' Democratic Action Party, have yet to hold their respective congresses.

The main point on the agenda at all these events, scheduled for late September or early October, relates to the coalitions that each one of them might join to run in the elections, or after them. The preelectoral alliances that may be formed at that time will make significant changes on the Spanish political map, which is still far from being consolidated. The respective commissions formed in Popular Alliance and in PDP [Popular Democratic Party] to concern themselves with possible preelectoral coalitions are holding periodic meetings, aimed at concluding the announced pact between the two groups. However, the coalition with Fraga does not seem to be evoking enthusiasm among the PDP rank and file which, concurrently, would not refuse to reach some type of agreement with the leaders of the Democratic Center Union, with whom they are also holding talks. The conduct that the government party will observe in this respect constitutes the real focal point of any policy of alliances associated with the coming elections.

A certain amount of ambiguity in the statements of its leaders (recall the comments made by Calvo Sotelo on the flight to Quito), combined with what all observers consider UCD's unavoidable need to force some type of preelectoral pact so as to achieve results that are even respectable at the polls, have caused everyone to await the steps that the government party may take in this area. The "number

two" Centrist, Juan Antonio Ortega Diaz Ambrona, in recent statements made to EL PAIS, cited the need for UCD to hold a special Political Council meeting if it wanted to change the decision to run alone in the elections, without prior coalitions of any kind.

Antonio Garrigues' Liberal Democratic Party appears as the most immediate candidate for a coalition with UCD; there are only some ideological differences and, like UCD, PDL has shown unequivocally that it is opposed to a pact with Fraga. The great unknown would lie in ascertaining whether PDP will succeed in forcing UCD and PDL to the goal of the Fragist "natural majority" (as Alzaga is incessantly proclaiming), or whether, on the contrary, the minority line that exists in PDP, opposed to the coalition with Popular Alliance (wherein there is certainly also a movement, headed by Fernando Suarez, which has no desire to enter a coalition with Alzaga), will end up victorious. In the latter instance, it would not be unthinkable to consider a UCD-PDP-PDL group, running together in the November elections.

In any event, it seems rather unlikely that Antonio Garrigues and his Liberals will end up taking the political and economic risk that would be entailed for them by running alone in elections governed by the current electoral law, which gives precedence to the "great ones" and severely penalizes the small groups.

Confusion in the Left-of-Center

It is not inconceivable that, once Suarez, the great enemy of the Liberal movement, has left UCD, Garrigues may join the party currently in power, after the PDL constituent congress, which could, moreover, turn out to be a dissolver of this party.

While the situation in the right-of-center is confused, that in the left-of-center is no less so, with both Adolfo Suarez' Social Democratic Center and Fernandez Ordonez' Democratic Action Party starting a race to reach some type of alliance with the Socialists. But, unlike PAD, CDS has retained its desire ("with the exception of what the party's constituent congress may decide") to run alone in the elections, without any kind of alliance; which would not preclude a post-electoral agreement with PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party]. Fernandez Ordonez' party, on the other hand, would agree to be included on the Socialist electoral tickets, wherein it would find a numerically slight acceptance. PSOE's discreet silence toward the offers made to it by CDS and PAD might end up forcing an understanding between these two parties, whose programs are rather similar and which are united, on principle, by an ironclad intention of not making a pact with the right-of-center.

So, the political horizon appears to be showing two major electoral options, the right-of-center and the left-of-center, capable of formalizing post-electoral pacts with Popular Alliance and PSOE, respectively. But, until the final moment arrives, we shall be witnessing tactical and "sounding out" movements, movements which have already started to occur.

GERMAN GENERAL CRITICIZES DANISH ROLE IN NORTH NATO COMMAND

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 14 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Klaus Justesen]

[Text] Brussels--German military leaders are now demanding a more prominent role in the top leadership of the joint commands for northern Europe. If the demands are met, it will be at the expense of Danish and Norwegian officers. They currently occupy most of the top posts.

New Agreements Demanded

It is the four-star German General Guenther Kiessling who has presented the demands for increased German influence in a big interview with the well-known newspaper, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE. Kiessling, who is deputy commander in chief for NATO forces, claimed that there is too little German representation in Allied Forces Northern Europe, which covers Norway, Denmark and Slesvig-Holstein.

"We Germans have shown an exaggerated restraint," said the general. "Since the Oslo agreement in 1961, the German contribution to the joint combat forces has risen 50 percent. That makes it necessary to revise the more than 20-year-old agreement."

There is no doubt that the general's demand is supported by German military people. On the other hand, a revision was already rejected by politicians. Earlier this year, BERLINGSKE TIDENDE reported German dissatisfaction that since 1 April 1982 Denmark has occupied all five leading command posts in the Danish-German unified command, also known as the Baltap organization.

Anger in NATO

The question of German influence in the NATO leadership has become extremely relevant since the German government decided to make General Juergen Brandt a candidate for the highest NATO post as chief of the military committee. That aroused anger in NATO, where Cor de Jager of Holland is the favorite.

6578

CSO: 3106/158

THIRTEENTH FOREIGN LEGION BRIGADE IN DJIBOUTI

Practice on Rough Roads

Paris KEPI BLANC in French Jul 82 p 38

[Text] There was activity in Gabode on 21 April 1982. Beginning at 0530 hours in the morning, the final preparations of the interunit road maintenance challenge were under way. The supervisors completed the installation of the service stops while the competitors lent a final hand in adjusting their vehicles.

The organizers did things well: On a 36-km circuit in diversified terrain, some scattered service stops were set up and some "roving controllers" were positioned. From the start, the checking of the vehicles' papers, waybill, and other documents placed the 25 competitors in the right mood. To park according to regulations along a road and to change a wheel constituted the initiation rite for the crews. A difficult stretch of roadway on a rocky climb made it possible to test the maneuverability of the vehicles and the skills of the drivers. The crossing of the sandy hills and of the Wadi Ambouli confirmed the competence of the latter. Knowledge of the rules of the road and the operations to be effected at the close of the exercise concluded the challenge.

Crews, surprised by the nature of the service stops but never helpless, proved themselves to be ingenious in all the practical exercises along the itinerary. To know how to combine speed and security was mandatory since the chronometer, on its part, did not run out of breath. Controllers who "blended" with the landscape took note of speeding and other violations of the rules of the road.

The circuit and service stops were appreciated by all the participants and some of them already looked forward to the end-of-year challenge to take their revenge.

The ranking by unit was as follows:

First: CCAS [Headquarters Support and Administrative Company]; second, reconnaissance squadron; third, 4th Company of the 2nd Foreign Paratroop Regiment.

The three top-ranking crews were as follows:

First, Sergeant Arquellada and Corporal Lai Shin Koug (4th company, 2nd Foreign Paratroop Regiment).

Second, Sergeant Caro and Corporal Colasse (CCAS).

Third, Corporals Rubio-Sanchez and Weihsrauch (2nd Transportation Company).

Field Practice

Paris KEPI BLANC in French Jun 82 p 21

[Text] On 12 and 14 April 1982, the CCAS [Headquarters Support and Administrative Company] effected its monthly sortie in the field in the Myriam and Artaplage region.

The equipment was brought in by road and sea.

The communications command and its defense section were harassed day and night.

First by the air force, guided by an OGT [expansion unknown] of the company, which directed the attack of two Mirage aircraft. Once night had fallen, an enemy section destroyed the remaining units. But, unfortunately for it, its infiltration was detected by the "Rasura" radar units of the defense section and the attack was transformed into flight in the direction of the CTM craft waiting offshore.

Along the road, an ambush set by the 1st Marching Section obliged the enemy to make a detour to join the men from their "Zodiac" craft which had to transport the men to the CTM craft.

At daybreak, the exercise was completed to general satisfaction. Everyone was tired but pleased to have been able to breathe fresh air for 24 hours.

Tactical Exercise in Northern Djibouti

Paris KEPI BLANC in French Jun 82 p 24

[Text] Once a month on the average, a platoon from the reconnaissance squadron leaves for a tactical visit in the northern region of the Republic of Djibouti and more especially in the northeast, which includes terrain favorable to the deployment and operations of armored vehicles.

These tours, which take place in a region unfamiliar to the squadron's personnel, demand the use of the capabilities of the various armed services. They are broken down into two principal stages: tactical instruction and technical instruction.

The former makes it possible to stress basic operations in patrol and simple platoon missions.

The second, much more important, first involves points studied customarily: Topography, night driving, and so on. but it is especially based on the use of unusual means. Thus, the CTMs or EDICs [Infantry and Tank Landing craft] of the French Navy are the vectors enabling the troops to cross the Gulf of Tadjoura. This explains the platoon chief's problems, new for him, that he has to face such as the reconnaissance of landing beaches, the fragmenting of his forces, boarding and landing, by strictly applying the directives provided by the Navy. These tours are also the occasion to solve the logistical difficulties raised by deliveries by air: Projections of the use of victuals, fuel, and spare parts.

Far from their base, the platoons circle in this "wild and barely accessible" region, feeling that any error in estimation or evaluation could jeopardize the mission.

Company Divisions

Paris KEPI BLANC in French Apr 81 p 22

[Text] In the 3rd Company, every section is specialized. Thus, the 1st Company is made up of demolition personnel, the 1nd Company includes frogmen, while the 3rd Company has crack sharpshooters. The 2nd Section may be called upon to undertake several types of missions. After the frogmen take to the water from "Zodiac" or LCM craft or from Puma helicopters, the section can reconnoiter and mark a beach with beacons to help the landing of a larger unit or to stage an attack against a target located close to the landing point.

These actions, preceded by longer or shorter frogmen operations, are done essentially at night.

Training is facilitated by the means available to the 13th Foreign Infantry Regiment in Djibouti: The commando training center of Arta beach and its nautical equipment, the helicopters of the ALAT [Ground Forces Tactical Air Support] detachment, the craft of the French Navy, and especially a climate making amphibious operations possible under all circumstances.

2662

CSO: 3100/828

RETIRING MILITARY DISTRICT COMMANDER CITES WEAPONS SHORTAGES

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 7 Aug 82 p 14

[Interview with Col Ole Jakob Hald by Pål Nordenborg; date and place not specified]

[Text] "The Armed Forces have not entirely succeeded in finding themselves in Norway since the war. We are still suffering under the influence of the shock after 1940 and of the imitation of the standing armies of the big powers at the time, especially Great Britain's. We must find our own peculiar character again."

Col Ole Jakob Hald, who said that to ARBEIDERBLADET, is now retiring as army chief in Norway's most heavily populated district. As commanding officer of Defense District 4 and the corps of chasseurs, Akershus Infantry Regiment No. 4 with headquarters at Onsrud, he has had a central position in planning and organizing total defense of the central part of East Norway, including the capital. In case of mobilization the head of the defense district also has the command of all refresher units and the Home Guard. The district contains 20 percent of the population of Norway.

The regiment also makes troops available for the defense of other parts of the country, such as North Norway. IR 4 [Infantry Regiment No. 4] is also setting up the Norwegian contingents for the U.N. forces in Lebanon.

Unacceptable Shortages

Colonel Hald's character as an open, outgoing military man will be known not only to the thousands of conscripts and regulars in the armed forces that he has met in service. Hald has presented his views in writing and orally for many years on the content and meaning of the service. More than once he has given expression to his great skepticism in regard to costly and technically advanced military equipment in the Norwegian Armed Forces at the expense of the necessary basic equipment for mobilization defense, weapons, and equipment in the medium and lower price classes.

"In this I also know that many of the men and officers are in agreement with me. I have been stopped on the street when I was in civilian clothes by people who wanted to discuss this and say that they share my opinion," says Ole Jakob Hald, to be a retired officer in little more than a week.

"I am not just out to get off negative criticism as I retire and quit as an officer. These are things that I have given voice to on many occasions. I used to participate a great deal in armed forces debates, give lectures, and write a little in newspapers and magazines.

"I want to emphasize that a number of the defects that encumber our armed forces should not be passed over in silence. I especially want to emphasize that the shortage of equipment and weapons that affects our mobilization plans today is absolutely unacceptable," says Hald.

Build the Armed Forces Up From the Bottom

His message is: Substantial shifts in the Armed Forces' operation and activity can be combined with increased defense effectiveness and fast mobilization of the defense capability to the advantage of the individual personally, of society, of the family and the economy, and of the Armed Forces themselves. But for that the Armed Forces must be built up from the bottom.

"It is compulsory military service that is our strength in regard to total defense and purely militarily. Underfunding mobilization defense as we are doing today is dangerous and unfair," says Colonel Hald. He says that all too many in the Armed Forces are staring themselves blind at the standing army.

According to Hald only a few military units--and they do not require especially large numbers of personnel--such as planes and some of the vessels, H.M. the King's Guard, and the Garrison in South Varanger, are really needed for the regular armed forces.

Short Compulsory Service

[Question] You have said that you are ashamed not to have contributed more to an effective defense. In what way?

[Answer] I will give you a quotation from a statement that Colonel General Svedlund, the Swedish commander in chief, came up with during the Nordic defense discussions in 1948-1949: "Norway is easy to defend. It is impossible to conquer and to occupy if there is anything like a proper defense."

Let me give you a few indications of what I mean when I say that the Armed Forces must be built up from the bottom and made more effective:

- Military obligation in the form of a short service based on local conditions, with longer hours every day and with more service in the evening or at night.
- Strong local, quickly mobilizable combat groups at the larger cities and densely populated areas, airports, and ports.
- In that way we can secure all such places, not just some few with weapons systems that exceed the limits of the appropriations and also create a number of problems, such as uncertainty about the effects, constant price increases, and fixing the budget limits for many years to come. Plus the unpredictable weapons development in these fields.

- With these gaps filled we can carry out short-term transfers of military units of limited size between parts of the country depending on available resources, economy, and means of transportation at any given time.
- Weapons and equipment in lower and medium price classes must be procured for the whole mass of trained soldiers subject to military duty, i.e. including the reserves. These are types of weapon that can adequately fill the defense rôle in given situations and that are capable of destroying the costly, complicated, vulnerable equipment that modern attack forces are making use of today.

This gives the greatest defense effect both nationally and within the framework of NATO, and results in steady orders to our own Norwegian industry.

Defense Based on Compulsory Military Service is Norway's Strength

Colonel Hald has no doubt that Norwegian political and military leaders today realize clearly that the Armed Forces' organization, activity, and procurements are a game of solitaire that has steadily less tendency to come out. But little has been done in the way of changes that can repair the damage.

Colonel Hald points out that the Defense Commission of 1974 emphasized more clearly than many others the importance of defense based on mobilization. But he also remembers the ragged, unusable socks that a district defense chief in another part of the country recently got from his quartermaster as an example of the state of things.

[Question] Is it not true that a researcher recently presented some arguments to the effect that Norway should switch to the system of a volunteer army?

[Answer] I do not believe that would do in Norway. With the appropriations we are operating with here we could have four or five superdivisions that way. No, what we must do in Norway is freshen up our ideas about our conscript defense of 1905 and adapt that pattern to our own modern time.

I am convinced that conscription is making the most valuable contribution to the defense debate that is now going on in the western world. A defense that is based on universal, solidary compulsory military service will also be the best contribution Norway can make to the allied defense.

Clearer Defense Debate

Colonel Hald says:

"Advanced, high-technology weapons systems--and nuclear weapons--can, of course, threaten the country or destroy it, but can never be used to conquer or hold it.

"A change along the lines I have made myself spokesman for will also create a clearer defense debate in Norway. The conscript now finds himself in a sort of intermediate situation in which that soldier's duties are not clearly enough founded in practice."

It is in that connection of a meaningful mission for the mobilization defense that he especially points to the shortages of weapons and equipment that exist

at our mobilization camps all over the country, but especially in the district of the local infantry regiment in the Oslo area. The neglect of the mass of conscripts and of mobilization defense have led to these outfits' having to lend out equipment to, e.g., the school and training divisions.

This is true of the divisions' antitank weapons such as mortars and light cannon, vehicles, communications equipment, and small arms for many battalions. The number of small arms that are at places other than the mobilization depots is in five figures.

The outgoing colonel concludes:

"Use money to procure quite basic materiel and equipment before buying costly planes, vessels, and computer installations. Such equipment must wait its turn if the money is to suffice.

"By such a change it is quite possible to get more defense for the funds that are available. That is true whether the budget is 20 billion, 10.5 billion, or 5 billion kroner. It is too simple," says Hald, "to assert that the Armed Forces will be strengthened only if we get to spend several billion more."

8815

CSO: 3108/147

PAPER BACKS COMMANDER IN URGING CHANGE IN MOBILIZATION PLANS

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 9 Aug 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Trait of the Arm Forces"]

[Text] Money and the size of the budget usually get the greatest attention when the armed forces are discussed on the outside. We are familiar with that from the debate on 3 or 4 percent real growth, which the ruling Conservative Party in particular has been unwise enough to try to put the stamp of party policy on.

The defense chief is already quite cool toward those in the Conservative Party who have stood for that outbidding line. There is little reason to doubt that the defense chief can imagine both 4 and 5 percent real increase in the defense budget. But since no higher powers than AFTENPOSTEN or the government seem to be able to do so, he has evidently turned a deaf ear to fair promises and is planning on the basis of probability. It would have been bad if he had led the country's armed forces in accordance with the Conservatives' campaign promises.

Something positive may perhaps come out of this shattering of defense policy daydreams which seems brutal to many. If the illusions about the significance of the percentages are also shattered, we can have a clearer defense debate. Such numbers are not worthless, but are unusable in the way that they are too often misused. Percentage calculations are not especially suitable either as an expression of the ability and will to defend ourselves or as a basis for comparison in measuring different countries' defense.

What we need is a goals-and-means debate on defense regardless of the size of the defense budget. That debate must be engaged in more often than the few times a commission meets. That could, for example, make the politician sharpen his suspicious feelings when a military leader says he will not be able to strengthen our defense unless he gets a few billion kroner more. On the other side, the military might be more suspicious toward politicians who promise those billions.

A debate on how every krone will yield more defense will force itself upon us faster than most people believed, and also faster than the Defense Commission of 1974 imagined. With the economic reality that characterizes most societies

today at the same time that we are coming to see more and more clearly the disadvantages of high-technology, costly, complicated equipment, we shall sooner or later find that we have to undertake quite radical reevaluations of the operation of the Norwegian armed forces.

Instead of discussing economy in isolation as a sign of growth or retrogression, the content and meaning of defense must shape the defense debates to a greater extent.

The newly retired chief of the country's most densely populated defense district, Col Ole Jakob Hald of Defense District 4 and the corps of chasseurs, Akershus Infantry Regiment No. 4, has again called attention to the weaknesses and shortcomings he and many other military commanders have suffered with for many years in local society. When this experienced officer points out conditions that he says are completely unacceptable, they should not be trivialized. If the military themselves feel his remarks are troublesome or uncomfortable, interested politicians should be grateful for Colonel Hald's thought-provoking observations, especially with an eye to the development of society in the years to come.

He says that by simple and natural measures it is quite possible to strengthen conventional defense considerably, independent of the size of the budget. But then there must be a willingness to turn a few things upside-down.

Our military defense today has too much the character of a great-power defense in miniature, Hald insists. It gives a form of constant preparedness that is both costly and inexpedient, while our mobilization depots and camps which will serve as the chief element of our defense can be stripped of basic equipment. For that reason he says that defense must be built up from the bottom and starting from local conditions.

A change along these lines will also take full advantage of the strong will to defend ourselves that the opinion polls give clear evidence of. Service will become more meaningful, to the advantage of family, society, and the armed forces themselves.

And when he says that Norway's defense has not entirely succeeded in finding itself since World War II, Colonel Hald means that the answer lies in strengthening mobilization defense and taking compulsory military service more seriously in defense planning.

Therein lies the peculiar character of Norwegian defense.

8815

CSO: 3108/147

LABOR ORGAN APPLAUDS BENKOW FOR DEFENSE BUDGET COMMENTS

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET 12 Aug 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Well Done Benkow"]

[Text] Although for most of the postwar period there has been unity across party lines on Norwegian defense and security policy, the Conservative Party has always managed to present itself as a quite particularly pro-defense party. In recent years the Conservative Party has gone a step further and put a question mark beside the Labor Party's reliability on such questions. In this way the Conservative Party has tried to split the broad unanimity that there has been on defense and security questions.

That came strongly to the fore 2 years ago when we were discussing the growth in the defense budgets in the coming years. The Labor Party government went in for a growth of 3 percent, while the non-socialist coalition parties, led by the Conservative Party, insisted on 4 percent. That difference was used by the Conservative side for strong attacks on the Labor Party. The day after the Storting debate, 17 April 1980, AFTENPOSTEN, the principal Conservative Party organ, wrote that the paper could well understand that more and more people were now putting a question mark beside the Labor Party's desire for a secure and reliable defense. The chairman of the defense committee, Per Hysing-Dahl, Conservative, said in the Storting debate: "What gives our defense credibility is not our proclamations about unity or about patriotism and the will to defend ourselves. Credibility is created by our actions." The utterance was aimed at the Labor Party.

We are tempted to quote Hysing-Dahl once more. Before the Storting debate in 1980 he wrote a big news article in AFTENPOSTEN under the headline: "The Economy Can Never Determine the Need for Defense." In that article the then chairman of the defense committee made it clear that the economic development, either in Norway or in the rest of the world, cannot determine the threats to which we are exposed and the defense needs that we must cover.

These quotations (which could be multiplied almost infinitely) are interesting when viewed against the background of the signals that have come that the Conservative Party government, in its very first budget bill, is backing off from the objective of a 4-percent increase in the defense budget. The latest to come out and try to soften up that part of public opinion that might be shocked by that is Jo Benkow, chairman of the Conservative Party, who made it clear in

an interview with the Conservative Party Press Bureau that not even the defense budget can escape scrutiny in the difficult budget situation in which we find ourselves.

Jo Benkow puts forth an important argument when he says that "if we are compelled to cut back on quite necessary items affecting the real welfare, it would be politically and objectively almost unconscious and irresponsible not to see whether we can get along with a somewhat smaller increase in the defense budget than the long-term plan provided for." And further: "We will do well in the situation we are now in to be able to maintain a budget level in one field when all the rest must be reduced."

We completely support Jo Benkow's statements. Here in ARBEIDERBLADET we formulated the same thoughts back on 31 March 1980: "If the Labor Party and the government do not in the current situation want to go further than has been proposed, that is partly on the basis of an evaluation of the current economic situation in which Norwegian society finds itself. Since the Armed Forces are also a part of Norwegian society, this is a situation that the Armed Forces cannot consider themselves independent of."

We bid the Conservative chairman and his party welcome as late-comers. It is certainly well done to turn their backs on old principles, positions, and utterances as quickly as they have done in this case. At the same time, Benkow must expect that many who believed in the Conservative propaganda earlier will register what is now being done with great astonishment. They will discover that the Conservative Party was using the Armed Forces before the election in the fall of last year for its tactical overbid. That is a revelation that can be useful. Nor do we regret that it weakens the credibility of the Conservative Party and the government, including credibility in the matter of defense.

We hope that the Conservative Party will learn its lesson from what has happened and that in the future we shall be spared a repetition of the percentage debate that we have experienced for the last few years. Everybody can see now that the Conservative Party was creating an artificial conflict over an important defense policy question.

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No. 2025

CONTENTS

THEATER FORCES

FRANCE

- Budget Austerity To Affect Conventional, Nuclear Forces
(Philippe Gazier; LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE, 19 Jul 82) 1
- Hernu Says Nuclear Deterrent Forces To Remain 'Priority'
(Charles Hernu Interview; LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE, 19 Jul 82) 7

TERRORISM

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

- Justice Minister: No New Anti-Terrorist Laws Needed
(FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 7 Aug 82) 9

ENERGY ECONOMICS

DENMARK

- Electric Power Plants Report Excess Capacity Has Risen
(INFORMATION, 10 Aug 82) 12

ECONOMIC

ICELAND

- Money Supply Shortfall Heralds Business Downturn
(MORGUNBLADID, 15 Jul 82) 14
- Current Year Trade Gap Worsens as Imports Climb 23 Percent
(MORGUNBLADID, 15 Jul 82) 15

Business Group Leader: International Competitiveness Down (MORGUNBLADID, 14 Jul 82)	17
--	----

POLITICAL

CANADA

Quebec National Assembly Session Appraised (Editorial, Vincent Price; LA PRESSE, 25 Jun 82)	18
--	----

CYPRUS

Ramifications of Ioannidis-Kyprianou Dialogue Discussed (Bernard Brigouleix; LE MONDE, 25 Jun 82)	20
--	----

DENMARK

Jorgen Lenger Seen as Likely Next Left-Socialist Chairman (INFORMATION, 10 Aug 82)	23
---	----

Chances of SDP, Nonsocialist Cooperation Dim (Lisbeth Knudsen; BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 14 Aug 82)	25
--	----

Briefs Merger of Liberals, Conservatives Urged	26
---	----

DENMARK/GREENLAND

Article Profiles Greenland Prime Minister Motzfeldt (Lise Lotte Nielsen; BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 8 Aug 82)	27
---	----

Prime Minister Motzfeldt Views Upcoming Political Issues (GRONLANDSPOSTEN, 28 Jul 82)	31
--	----

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Hesse's Greens Hold Congress, Reject Coalitions (Bernd Erich Heptner; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 16 Aug 82).	33
--	----

ICELAND

Paper Cites USSR's Overfishing in Light of Treaty Talks (Editorial; MORGUNBLADID, 15 Jul 82)	36
---	----

NETHERLANDS

Briefs	
Labor Party Begins Campaign	37
Lubbers' Views	37
Communist Party Appeal	38
Peace Movement on Election	38
CDA Criticizes Peace Movement	38

SPAIN

UCD, PSOE Unite To Oust RTVE Director (Joaquin Prieto; EL PAIS, 23 Jul 82)	39
PNV President Critical of LOAPA, UCD, PSOE, ETA (Xabier Arzallus Interview; EL PAIS, 26 Jul 82)	44
UCD's Lavilla Optimistic About Party, Democracy (Landelino Lavilla Interview; EL PAIS, 15 Aug 82)	49
AP's Fraga Active in Building Possible Coalition (EL PAIS, 14 Aug 82)	56
PSOE Deputy Describes Vision of Socialist Administration (Pablo Castellano; EL PAIS, various dates)	58
Coalition Building for Upcoming Elections in Full Swing (Fernando Jauregui; EL PAIS, 9 Aug 82)	64

MILITARY

DENMARK

German General Criticizes Danish Role in North NATO Command (Klaus Justesen; BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 14 Aug 82)	66
--	----

FRANCE

Thirteenth Foreign Legion Brigade in Djibouti (KEPI BLANC, various dates)	67
Practice on Rough Roads	
Field Practice	
Tactical Exercise in Northern Djibouti	
Company Divisions	

NORWAY

Retiring Military District Commander Cites Weapons Shortages (Ole Jakob Hald Interview; ARBEIDERBLADET, 7 Aug 82)	70
Paper Backs Commander in Urging Change in Mobilization Plans (Editorial; ARBEIDERBLADET, 9 Aug 82)	74
Labor Organ Applauds Benkow for Defense Budget Comments (Editorial; ARBEIDERBLADET, 12 Aug 82)	76

BUDGET AUSTERITY TO AFFECT CONVENTIONAL, NUCLEAR FORCES

Paris LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE in French 19 Jul 82 pp 24-28

[Article by Philippe Gazier: "The Commissariat Is Not Keeping Up Anymore"]

[Text] Budgetary austerity for the big-spender ministries. But watch out--would it perhaps be a serious mistake to treat defense as an ordinary matter? For security and independence are at stake. Not to mention the possible risk of putting the brakes on the country's economy.

Bastille Day parades against a background of crises. Localized, to be sure, but devastating, and their concomitance expresses the highest tension occurring since the end of World War II. A tension which the startup of new American-Soviet negotiations on reduction of strategic nuclear weapons will scarcely help to attenuate. And all the less so in that, partly because of the multiplication of the Soviet mobil SS-20 batteries, the imbalance of forces should reach its maximum amplitude in Europe in 1984 and 1985.

In this unstable international environment and in the face of this relative aggravation of the risks, what weight does the French panoply have? Isn't it time for France to make a "Reagan-type" effort? Shouldn't defense constitute the "priority of priorities"?

Quite to the contrary, though, on instructions from the prime minister, the defense program authorizations--the "pledge of the future," according to Admiral Jean Lannuzel--have been pared down on the same basis as for the civilian investments. Thus, some Fr 18 billion was "frozen" at the beginning of the year. "Temporarily." "Not surprisingly," comments an engineer general (of the reserves); "the Socialists scarcely love the military. But watch out--it would be a serious mistake to treat defense as an ordinary matter!"

The armed-forces budget for 1983 is not announced under the best of auspices (a "progression" of 8 to 10 percent, in current francs, is cited, as against 17.2 percent in 1982--i.e., like last year, some 10 percent less than the progression of the general state budget). And last month, Charles Hernu brought together the principal officials of the three armed forces and the Gendarmerie and gave them an order: "The world economic situation imposes an extraordinary austerity effort on our country in order to get out of the crisis in which it has been plunged for 7 years. Everyone has to take part in this effort, and as

is normal, defense cannot escape this situation." Therefore, austerity (so as to keep the budget deficit to within 3 percent of the GNP), as recently confirmed before the Parliamentary committee. But this does not fail to disturb the military, the industrialists and all those in whose view "defense insurance" implies that the country should devote more than 4 percent of its GNP to its armed forces (not including pensions) in order to preserve its independence.

Within a "ceiling package" within which nuclear weaponry will be "favored" (doubtlessly up 20 percent in program authorizations) and research will be "sustained," but within which, at the payment-credits level, the operating expenditures (Title III) are going to draw away some of the equipment credits of Title V.

The conventional-forces equipment program is therefore going to have to be pared down. To be sure, the new combat airplane, the Mirage 2000 (the program for which has fallen behind schedule, for that matter), would have to be given a "special" effort in 1983.

In counterpart, it is probable that, for purely mathematical reasons, many other types of materiel will bear the cost of the drastic austerity policy. This will likely be the case with the high-rate-of-fire 155-mm cannons, armored vehicles such as the AMX-10 tanks and the Army's wheeled tactical vehicles, the Transall airplanes, automatic weapons, even the surface vessels of the Navy.

In short, the lags that have already come about within the framework of the military programming law (and often denounced by Mr Hernu when he was the Defense Committee rapporteur) are going to get even longer. Especially at the expense of the battle-corps allocations.

Humor--Last year, the government did, however, show its determination to carry on the effort started before it. Mr Mauroy, opening the 34th Session of the Institute for Advanced Studies on National Defense, stressed, in a humorous vein, that: "I am, of course, the prime minister of change; but there is at least one area in which permanence is a necessity--the imperatives of defense."

Now these imperatives are very clear: "Ensuring at all times, in all circumstances and against all forms of aggression, the security and integrity of the national territory as well as the life of the population." These are the very terms of the ordinance of 7 January 1959. Each of these terms was carefully weighed by General de Gaulle. Today they constitute the "bible" in the matter of defense.

The principal instrument for ensuring this security and this integrity is the nuclear deterrent force, over which France (a member of the Atlantic Alliance, but having left NATO in 1966--again, by General de Gaulle's will) has "sovereign" control. At the cost of a 20-year effort which one deputy, Raymond Tourain, evaluated, in terms of 1980 francs, at some Fr 222 billion. Its strategic components are well-known: 18 missiles buried in the Albion Plateau, squadrons of Mirage IV's, and especially, the submarines of the Strategic Naval Force (FOST)--currently five of them. "France seeks deterrence, and it has acquired it," President Francois Mitterrand stressed at the Elysee last September; "it

has gone beyond the threshold below which our force and our commitment could be doubted." But the effort has to be continued. "Maintaining the invulnerability of this Strategic Naval Force is an absolute imperative," confirms General Pierre Gaulois (from whom Mme Marie-France Garaud is not the only one to take advice in the matter of strategy). In his view, it would be better to multiply the number of submarines, even if they were to be equipped with only two sea-to-ground strategic ballistic (MSBS) missiles, rather than provide each of the six existing and planned submarines with 16 MSBS missiles. We mention the fact that the sixth submarine of this type, the "Inflexible," has just been launched at Cherbourg (in the presence of Pierre Mauroy, who had already made a point of spending two nights and a day on board one of these SNLE's [Missile-Launching Strategic Nuclear submarines] last November--the "Tonnant"). The "Inflexible" will be placed in service in 1985 and fitted with a new M-4 multiple-warhead sea-to-ground missile built by Aerospatiale. Though equipped with the same number of missiles as the others, its nuclear striking power will be equivalent to the totality of the other five. This is not comparable to the arsenals of the two superpowers, to be sure, but all the same, it constitutes "a nuclear force that cannot be negotiated away," as Mr Mauroy puts it.

As for the building of a seventh submarine, promised by the president of the republic last summer on the occasion of his visit to Ile-Longue (in the Brest roadstead), it will not be placed in operational service before 1994 or 1995, in order to put as much technological progress into it as possible. But between now and then, the very first, the "Redoutable," which has been in service since January 1972, will have "served its time."

It would therefore be indispensable to build another one or two nuclear submarines in the meantime (it takes a good 5 years to build one of the "Inflexible" type). Cost Fr 3 billion, not including missiles. "Watch out!" warns General Gallois; "there is total convergence between Soviet doctrine and the armament that the Red Army is now placing in service!" Whereas previously, the USSR's panoply was not yet so rich. But the armaments being deployed in the East correspond word for word, as it were, to the strategic and tactical concepts of the Soviet texts.

Whence--according to the recent chiefs of staff (especially General Guy Mery, a great partisan of "theater weapons" and "forward combat")--the necessity of having available a diversified nuclear panoply--strategic, of course, but also tactical, short-range. In order, in a way, to be able to "adapt" the response, or "graduate" it, as John Fitzgerald Kennedy put it in his time. "Gadgets," replies Mr Gallois. "The Red Army cannot afford to lose the war; the entire labor of 7 centuries would collapse. In my opinion, though, the only choice France has is all-or-nothing." The French "all" could do very poorly. Not only against cities, as some have suggested, but especially against precise military objectives: situated on the Kola peninsula, a veritable arsenal of the Soviet Union, for example, industrial complexes, communications centers, etc. But there has been considerable progress in the precision of long-reach weapons--on our part as well as that of the superpowers. Jean Martre, general delegate for armament, gives assurance that: "As regards ballistic missiles, we are at the level of the others who make them" (the list is a very short one). It is also going to be necessary to determine whether a definitive commitment is going to be made on the new complementary programs: mobile SX missile (for

Defense: the Two Big Powers and the Others

<u>Country</u>	<u>Expenditures (in billions of dollars)</u>	<u>Percentage of budget</u>	<u>Percentage of GNP</u>
United States	143	26.0	5.6
FRG	26	22.5	5.0
France	25	19.9	4.0
Great Britain	24	15.4	3.2
Soviet Union	160		12.0

Relative weight of defense expenditures (including pensions) in 1980.

Source: Finance Committee, National Assembly

Budget: the Gendarmerie Takes Up the Rear

(in millions of francs)

	<u>Payment credits</u>	<u>Program Authorizations</u>
Army	37,053	19,484
Air Force	26,861	19,797
Navy	23,019	13,488
Gendarmerie	11,526	1,149
Common section*	<u>24,396</u>	<u>18,380</u>
Total:	122,855	72,298

1982 budget credits for operations and equipment

* Strategic nuclear forces and central ministry services

Source: Ministry of Defense

Strength: More Gendarmes than Sailors

	<u>Career Military</u>	<u>Draftees</u>	<u>Civilian Personnel</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Army	115,385	198,792	42,666	356,843
Air Force	61,972	38,455	6,006	106,433
Navy	50,375	18,009	7,951	76,335
Gendarmerie	75,928	5,000	970	81,898
Common section*	<u>11,138</u>	<u>2,074</u>	<u>85,084</u>	<u>98,296</u>
Totals:	314,798	262,330	142,677	729,805

Strength per budget for 1982

* Strategic nuclear forces and central ministry services

Source: Ministry of Defense

some Fr 15 billion, just a little less than for three SNLE's equipped with 16 M-4 missiles), Hades tactical missiles to replace the Plutons (Fr 9.5 billion), etc.

With nuclear deterrence now a reality, the *raison d'être* of the air, sea and land forces is is for the nuclear weaponry not to have to be used. On condition that they are well-trained and modernized, of course. In that regard, the chiefs of staff of the three armed forces and the Gendarmerie find themselves facing the same enemy: inflation, which is not at all exclusive to the civilian world. Either in regard to Title V (equipment credits; therefore, purchases of airplanes, tanks, boats, rifles, etc) or as regards Title III (operating expenses for supporting the roughly 700,000 military and civilian personnel who are paid for from the defense budget--draftees included). In effect, despite the election-campaign promises, 12-month military service continues to be "an institution," helping to achieve, according to Mr Hernu, and "unfailing solidarity between the country and its armed forces." But an expensive solidarity. It has been calculated that in 1980, a draftee cost about Fr 10,000 (pay, Fr 3,780; food, Fr 4,485; clothing and other expenses, about Fr 2,000)--a total, that is, including the cadets and other ranks, of about Fr 3 billion for the draftee system.

Under these conditions, strengthening the nuclear arsenal and modernizing the "conventional" forces (see table) while at the same time maintaining the draft system amounts nearly to squaring the circle. With about 3.85 percent of the GNP in 1982 (i.e., less than what the 1977-1982 military program law had anticipated), the defense budget already constitutes an unequalled economic factor. Of the Fr 123 billion devoted to defense in 1982, Fr 78.6 billion (nearly 64 percent) is for buying goods and services, including more than Fr 42 billion for industry and more than Fr 13 billion to the tertiary sector. Of the 90 branches of economic activity censused by the INSEE [National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies], 78 benefit from military orders. In the lead is aeronautical construction, the "industry of sovereignty," as Mr Martre calls it; armament; shipbuilding; and research, of course. Next come sectors considered more peaceable: rail transport, professional electronics, construction and civil engineering, and also the agricultural and food sector. As for "induced effect," according to the ministry's efforts, on the basis of the 1980 figures, "the multiplier coefficient should be higher than 1.7."

But defense is also a very big provider of jobs, challenging National Education for first place. Active-duty military personnel, civilian employees and other jobs engendered directly by the military credits represent about 850,000 jobs (30,000 more than in 1980), which is 4.8 percent of French wage-earners. To these must be added the 262,000 draftees whom the national accounting classifies as belonging to the working population. In addition, they consider on Boulevard Saint-Germain that the military orders play a "decisive support" role in activities whose export side provides about 150,000 jobs. In other words, defense activity in France, in its broadest terms, is the "business" of some 1,262,000 working persons! (National Education, from nursery school through the third cycle, or 10th grade, employs "only" 1.09 million.)

Defense is also a "heavyweight" in the trade balance. In 1981, France, as the world's third-ranking arms merchant, sold Fr 33.8 billion worth (practically

equivalent of the long-term indebtedness of the SNCF [French National Railways]). Nearly 72 percent of these orders have been placed by the Arab states, partly compensating for our oil expenditure. The whole represents about 5 percent of France's foreign trade. In recent years, defense has furnished more than one-third of the budgetary financing for French research and development. Is the new impulse given by Jean-Pierre Chevenement, minister of scientific research and technology, going to help strengthen the civilian part of research and development? Not necessarily, because this category should be very important within the framework of the new military programming law. A law that fits in with the Ninth Plan, prepared by the departments of the Plan Commission (furthermore, a captain has been assigned from Rue de Martignac to ensure a "minimum degree of harmonization"). In conformity with the new government's philosophy.

But it is very unlikely that this future program law will set the same (theoretical) objective as the one that the legislators set themselves in 1976: to do things in such a way that the military credits, by way of steady growth, would manage to reach 20 percent of the state budget (as against 17 percent in 1976).

Finally, defense is a veritable "locomotive" in the matter of technological innovations, with the research and development credits representing each year between 10 and 12 percent, or even more, of the defense budget.

Comparing--The "fallout" into the civilian sectors is spectacular in the areas of nuclear power, space, aeronautics, electronics, mechanical industry, etc. Not to mention the gains in time (through the creation of generations of new civilian or professional products, even mass-consumption products). "Compare us with Japan," an expert stresses; "the weak points of that country's technology--aeronautics in particular--are directly correlated with its still modest effort in the area of military technologies."

In 1982, the armed-forces budget represents only 15.6 percent of the state's expenditures. And everyone understood that the proportion for 1983 was going to be even lower. No, the "commissariat" is really not keeping up anymore.

11267

CSO: 3100/846

HERNU SAYS NUCLEAR DETERRENT FORCES TO REMAIN 'PRIORITY'

Paris LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE in French 19 Jul 82 p 28

[Interview with Minister of Defense Charles Hernu: "Priority to Nuclear Credibility"; date and place not given]

[Text] While knowledge of what the armed-forces budget "ceiling package" is really going to be is awaited, the minister considered it premature to give any response on the 1983 budget in terms of figures, the price to be paid in order to have tomorrow a sufficient "military insurance" or commitment to new programs.

[Question] You yourself have denounced several times the "maximal risk" feared for the middle of the current decade. Shouldn't the very existence of this risk incite us to accelerate the modernization of the French nuclear deterrent force, the pledge of independence?

[Answer] The objective for us is to keep this nuclear force's deterrence above the credibility threshold.

In budgetary terms, the nuclear force therefore remains the priority.

On the technical level, it is necessary to develop and deploy the weapons systems that make it possible to preserve the credibility of our forces in the face of the new threats: progress in antisubmarine warfare, modernization of the antimissile systems, increased precision of ballistic missiles, threats against communications, etc. All these challenges call for responses.

Whence a special effort, the salient points of which are the deployment, as of 1985, of the multiple-warhead M-4 missiles and the ASMP (air-to-ground medium-range) missiles, the permanent presence of three missile-launching submarines on patrol, and hardening of the communications systems.

[Question] Without prejudging the budgetary choices that are going to have to be made in the matter of conventional armaments, what minimum percentage of exports of military materiel do you consider desirable or even necessary?

[Answer] Things are not so simple. Depending on the types of military materiel, the threshold and the importance of the mass-production effect on the unit

prices is highly variable. If we want to have modern armed forces equipped with materiel produced at the lowest cost, it is necessary, in most cases, to export. And this is all the truer when one does not have a budget comparable to those of the superpowers.

In addition, my colleagues in Foreign Trade, Economy and Finance or Labor certainly have their ideas about the contribution of exports to our balance of payments or to industrial activity.

But one must not sell just anything to just anyone! In particular, it is necessary for our exports to be coherent with our foreign policy. In this area, I must say that some changes from the old practices were necessary.

[Question] And European cooperation? How can it be given a second wind?

[Answer] To cooperate, there have to be at least two parties. In other words, it is not sufficient for France to have the political will and the technical means for proposing projects on a cooperative basis; there must also be a party to cooperate with. In this regard, I am thinking more particularly of the future combat tank and the antitank helicopter. It is clear that there is a crisis in cooperation because of the budgetary difficulties of the European states, the cost overruns in the Anglo-Italian-German Tornado program, and also the underestimation, by some, of the political importance of cooperation in giving a concrete character to the relations with our European partners.

Despite these difficulties, I remain optimistic about revival of cooperative projects in the longer run:

--apart from the two superpowers, few countries will be able to afford by themselves the cost of development of the future weapons systems, especially the aeronautical ones. In other words, the necessity of cooperating on the major projects will assert itself;

--France has remarkable experience in the area of working in common. Practically all the big cooperative projects in which it has become involved have been technical, industrial and financial successes. I am thinking in particular of the Franco-German programs for ground-to-air and antitank missiles, and the Alpha Jet.

11267

CSO: 3100/846

JUSTICE MINISTER: NO NEW ANTI-TERRORIST LAWS NEEDED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 Aug 82 p 5

[Article: "Schmude: 'The Laws Are Adequate'" -- A Study of Anti-terrorist Work; Normal Trial Procedures]

[Text] Bonn, 6 August--FRG Minister of Justice Schmude on Friday voiced the opinion that, based on a study prepared in his ministry, the laws aimed against leftist terrorism are adequate. He said there is no need for any new laws or for any expansion of the penal structure. Schmude pointed out that in actual practice the Penal Code paragraphs 88a (unconstitutional advocacy of crimes) and 130a (giving guidance for the commission of criminal acts), which were done away with last year, were of practically no consequence. Of the "anti-terrorism laws" enacted in 1976, only Penal Code Paragraph 129a, aimed at terrorist associations, has proved to be effective. This is a political assessment made by Schmude which does not coincide as unequivocally with the above-mentioned study.

The basis for the study is an evaluation of 279 legally valid judgments pronounced in the period from 1971 to November 1980, which derived from indictments for leftist terrorism. Rightist terrorism was not taken into account. The authors of the study "Criminal Proceedings Against Leftist Terrorist Perpetrators of Criminal Acts and Their Supporters" started out by examining biographical characteristics of the perpetrators. Some of the results of these efforts had already been published last year. Then they took a good look at the criminal procedures (pertinent issues of the accusation, duration of the proceedings) and finally at the sentencing.

The "socio-biographical characteristics" of the perpetrators approximate the image which the public has of them. More women (26 percent) were involved in leftist terrorism than in the total number of criminal acts, particularly where serious criminal acts were involved. There is a strong representation of persons coming from the so-called upper strata (36 percent), but the number of those coming from the so-called lower strata (23 percent) is not insignificant. It was particularly those in the latter category who were directly involved in the execution of the criminal acts. University students, other students, as well as college students who did not complete their studies were involved to an above-average extent (36 percent). A similar picture results if one takes a look at the occupations of the perpetrators at the time of their carrying out their criminal acts.

Interesting are the criminal records of those who were convicted. Of the 203 apprehended perpetrators, 123 had no criminal record (63 percent), only 22 had previously been given "relevant" sentences (11 percent), but 52 (26 percent) had been given sentences which were not "relevant." This shows that also "normal" criminals--those without a political background--can find their way to terrorism. However, what strikes one as being a little artificial is the separation of actual attacks from activities which served the organization and the cohesion of the terrorist groups, such as for instance the provision of weapons, money, and lodgings. In the course of such differentiation, the authors of the study determined that perpetrators from the "lower strata" were more involved in direct assaults, whereas terrorists from the upper strata committed more criminal acts which served the formation and supply of the terrorist gangs. As far as the participation in the criminal act and particularly also the will to carry it out are concerned, it is all the same in the end.

A review of the frequency of committed acts shows that violations of the weapons law are leading to a considerable extent (16.5 percent). Then follow formation and support of a criminal (Para 129 of the penal code) or terrorist (Paragraph 129a) association, with an overall total of 15.6 percent, criminal acts dangerous to the public (9.5 percent), robberies and extortion (8.5 percent), and falsification of documents (7.8 percent). Crimes involving murder accounted for 5.1 percent of the cases. Anticonstitutional support of criminal acts (88a) was proven in five cases, and provision of guidance for the execution of criminal acts (130) was proven in none. Differing somewhat from Schmude's statements, the authors of this study make the following assessment concerning the possible usefulness of these penal laws which have now been abolished: Had they been applied in the course of trial proceedings, they might possibly have played a role with respect to factors which did not come in the investigatory phase.

Only few trials (28 percent) were initially held in district courts. Most of them by far were held before the regional courts (60 percent) and the rest (i.e. the "big" terrorist trials) were held before the Higher Regional Courts. Of the court locations, Berlin stands out, where almost one-third of the trials were instituted, followed at some distance by Munich, Hamburg, and Frankfurt. In cases of terrorist perpetrators of criminal acts, the duration of detention pending trial is longer than in the case of all other accused individuals, a fact which the study ascribes to the seriousness of the criminal acts. In cases of serious crimes without terrorist background the trials are also of longer-than-average duration; the study calls to mind the trials against perpetrators of economic crimes. While it is true that after several criminal trial law changes the number of trial days decreased, the actual duration of the trials became longer (one reason for this being the now possible longer interruptions of the trials).

Finally, the authors of the study pursue the question of to what extent the possibilities within the framework of punishment were utilized. In the case of punishment by imprisonment (in which connection life sentences were ignored) the result is that the framework of available punishment options was utilized at an average level of 24 percent. In the case of some crimes

(robbery and extortion) the rate was 32.5 percent. In summary, the study comes to the conclusion that it is possible to recognize "certain" but not at all "definite" tendencies to punish terrorist criminals more severely than other, comparable perpetrators of criminal acts. Probation is granted to a somewhat lesser extent in cases of minor prison terms. The authors of the study say that this shows that the courts have at their disposal means "which make possible differentiated sentencing. In the majority of cases the courts could have imposed more severe sentences if in their opinion the desired punishment objectives had called for it."

8272

CSO: 3103/613

ELECTRIC POWER PLANTS REPORT EXCESS CAPACITY HAS RISEN

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 10 Aug 82 p 4

[Text] The excess capacity of electric power plants has now risen from 42 to 49 percent. But the electric power association points out that many power plants are old and uneconomical.

From 1980 to 1981, excess capacity of Danish electric plants rose from 42 to 49 percent, despite the fact that the maximum consumption load for electricity rose. This appears from the statistical review by the association of Danish electric power plants, "Danish Electrical Supplies in 1981." It is the maximum load that determines the need for new power plants, because the electric plants must always be capable of meeting the need. In 1981, this grew to 4,820 megawatts while in 1980 it was 4,660 MW. At the same time the installed effectiveness of Danish power plants grew from 6,618 to 7,216 MW.

The excess capacity of the electric plants has been brought out in the debate on nuclear power because the prerequisite for introducing nuclear power is that there is a real need for it. In recent years this need has declined due to the stagnation in electricity consumption. This has changed from 1980 to 1981, since electricity consumption measured in kilowatt hours did fall from 21,970 kWh to 21,850 kWh, but on the other hand installed effectiveness grew much more than maximum consumption.

In the report, the Danish Electric Plants' Association did not go into the consequences of this development in relation to the plans of the electric plants concerning the introduction of nuclear power--not directly. But it stressed that one-fifth of Danish power plants are more than 20 years old and the excess capacity of electric plants "consists mainly of older units with a short remaining lifetime and high operating costs." DEF [Danish Electric Plants' Association] added that they avoid using these plants in daily operations as much as possible, but "when reserve capacity falls to 20 percent in the 1980's, a level that must be regarded as a minimum with respect to guaranteeing delivery, the most uneconomical plants will be used more."

The background for this assessment is the electric plants' forecast of future consumption developments. This is now based on an anticipated annual growth of around 3 percent in electricity consumption, a forecast--as DEF stressed--based on the government's own estimate of future economic prospects.

6578

CSO: 3106/158

MONEY SUPPLY SHORTFALL HERALDS BUSINESS DOWNTURN

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 15 Jul 82 p 2

[Article: "Money Shortage Having an Impact upon Business"]

[Text] Shortage of business financing from domestic credit institutions is creating major difficulties according to MORGUNBLADID's information. Moreover, as is known, domestic credit institutions made credit considerably more difficult to obtain last month on account of their worsened position with respect to the Icelandic State Bank. There are no prospects for any change in the shortterm. It may be mentioned that the institutions' cash balance has worsened by more than 800 million krona since the beginning of the year.

Leading businessmen interviewed yesterday by MORGUNBLADID were in agreement that money shortage was no big problem for the first 4 months of the year but became very severe in May. For example, business credit has been reduced considerably while public supports have been cut due to more difficult credit. During June the money shortage had begun to create real difficulties in many companies and there has been no abating in July.

The money shortage has, among other things, resulted in a great increase in business defaults. Exchange rates will fall more than expected over the long term and debt defaults will increase regularly. There has been a marked fall in goods deliveries by the shipping companies during the last few weeks and goods are accumulating in their warehouses. There is a large number of unsold vehicles in their warehouses in particular. According to report published in MORGUNBLADID this week it is estimated that there are from 2,000 to 3,000 vehicles at the depots of the shipping companies. At least a fourth are back financed.

One leading importer said to MORGUNBLADID that if there is no change for the better in the next few weeks a considerable reduction in imports will become noticeable generally and many companies will find themselves in major difficulties. An industrialist interviewed by MORGUNBLADID seconded these words. He also said that things could only go one way when a prodigious money shortage complements the difficulties that industry is already having because of the unjust method of determining the exchange rate which has diminished its competitiveness considerably.

It may be said in conclusion that loans of domestic credit institutions to individuals have been at an absolute low point the last few weeks and, according to MORGUNBLADID's information, no change is in sight.

CURRENT YEAR TRADE GAP WORSENS AS IMPORTS CLIMB 23 PERCENT

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 15 Jul 82 p 14

[Article: "General Imports of Goods Grew by 22.7 Percent from January to April"]

[Text] Imports have been substantial since the beginning of this year. Total imports have grown by 11.5 percent during the first 4 months of this year compared to the first 4 months of last year in constant values. Imports of individual capital investment goods decreased considerably, as did imports of raw materials for aluminum smelting and of petroleum.

General imports of goods, on the other hand, grew by 22.7 percent. This means that the actual or quantitative increase in imports has been in the range of 10 to 15 percent over the corresponding period of last year. Imports of passenger cars and motor cycles were 54 percent more in the first quarter of this year than in the first quarter of last in constant values.

The situation is quite different on the export side. Total exports declined by 2.5 percent during the first 4 months of this year in constant values. Exports of aluminum and infusorial earth grew notably, but other exports declined by 6 percent in constant values, or at a still greater rate. The decline in exports of fisheries products was still greater. This was due to a shortage of capelin and a much reduced cod catch. It may be noted with regard to capelin that in years past exports of capelin products amounted to 10 to 15 percent of all exports and that the impact of the collapse of capelin fishing upon the national household has been great.

It emerges from the economic statistics for this month that the payments burden for amortization of loans and the growth of foreign debts amounted to 16.4 percent of total national export income last year and that late last winter it was estimated that the figure will come to nearly 20 percent this year. The sluggish export achievement for the year so far further darkens prospects for the year as a whole and, needless to say, will make the burden of payments heavier.

So far this year prices for most categories of goods are 44 to 48 percent higher than at the same time last year. Quarterly increases in the price index have been considerably larger recently and are much above those for last year, corresponding to an annual rate of increase of 50 percent. The Icelandic Central Bank has begun to measure inflation according to fixed rules with regard to growth determinations. It has done thus since the enactment of the Law on Economics and Other Matters in late 1977. Until then Central Bank documents had not explained how inflation was measured but calculations were based to an equal degree upon price increase of the two previous quarters and the estimated increase for the next two quarters. The previous and next following quarter were doubly weighted compared to the other two quarters. Inflation, calculated according to this method, was 48 to 49 percent at the end of May and this is without any base pay increases.

9857

CS0: 3111/46

BUSINESS GROUP LEADER: INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIVENESS DOWN

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 14 Jul 82 p 3

[Article: "Competitiveness of Industry Down at Least 24 Percent"]

[Text] "It is in fact absurd to look thus at one branch of industry alone. There are many branches in difficulty that must be taken into consideration," said Viglundur Thorsteinsson, chairman of the Association of Icelandic Manufacturers, the FII, in a conversation with MORGUNBLADID. He was asked his views on the proposals now before the government to save shipowners from those difficulties now confronting them.

If we now follow the path of supports and subsidies it will be, in our view, a violation of that basic rule which must be honored in fishing, that is, to maintain a real set of exchange rates and secure a parity of livelihoods.

Supports and subsidies will, without question, endanger the operations of numerous companies and thus the livelihood of the many employees working for them. It may in fact be said that around 18,000 persons work in the public sector and that does not include the construction industry in which some 17.9 percent of manpower is involved. One must see the forest as well as the trees, said Viglundur Thorsteinsson, chairman of the Association of Icelandic Manufacturers.

9857

CSO: 3111/46

QUEBEC NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION APPRAISED

Montreal LA PRESSE in French 25 Jun 82 p A6

[Editorial by Vincent Price: "End of a Somewhat Disappointing Session"]

[Text] All in all, the legislative session which just ended in Quebec was somewhat of a disappointment.

We will try, in any case, to summarize the most important pieces of legislation and controversial actions taken by the government. And there were a number of them.

First of all, it should be noted that while the Quebec Party, when it was in opposition, vehemently denounced emergency laws, it passed two new ones itself in the last few months. The first forced the employees of the transport commission of the urban community of Montreal to go back to work in January of this year. The second, which was passed as recently as Monday of this week, put general medical practitioners back to work in the same way.

In fact, one could even describe the Hauterive-Baie Comeau merger as a third emergency law. As everyone knows, that merger was imposed on Baie-Comeau against its strongly expressed wishes.

Law No 70, by which the government intends to get back a large part of the wage increases accorded to its employees in the last round of negotiations, and Law No 68, which reduces the pension fund for those same employees, have also tarnished the social-democratic image of the Levesque administration.

Certainly it could not be said that these two measures would justify unionized employees in the public sector claiming that they are the victims of a grave injustice, since despite everything on the average they remain better treated than workers in the private sector, but they may well have made a considerable contribution to undermining the government's credibility as a future employer. Laws 70 and 68, especially 70, in effect constitute breach of promise and of the sanctity of contracts.

Taxpayers will also remember the session just ended as the session of the Parizeau budget, with its record deficit and its new indirect taxes. That budget truly makes Quebec motorists the most heavily taxed in all of Canada.

In other respects, despite the Quebec economic summit, in early April, where it was intended to establish a kind of dialogue among the various economic actors in the province, the social climate continued to deteriorate. Attacks by labor leaders on the government that had claimed to be favorably disposed to organized labor quite naturally increased.

The phenomenon was particularly evident when Law 70 and Law 68 were introduced, and larger issues were at stake, but it could also be noticed on various other occasions. One could even see it, recently, when the minister of labor, Mr Pierre Marios, was introducing his bill on essential services. This bill--extremely milk and extremely disappointing for those who really want to assure that users' rights take precedence over those of workers--was not even applauded by the heads of the labor organizations.

And one should not forget that at the same time the government's relations with the business community--relations which were never very good--hardly improved either. The Levesque administration could hardly expect otherwise, though, since it remained deaf to almost all of business's entreaties. And the recent announcement by the minister of finance of his intention to increase the tax on paid-up capital for chartered banks that refuse to go along with his "voluntary" program to help the housing construction industry recover could hardly make things better.

The last provincial legislative session also saw the Levesque government waste a good deal of its energy in taking revenge for the constitutional setback it suffered. Certainly, it cannot be criticized for having appealed the veto question to the judiciary, but it is obvious that its Law No 62, intended to protect all of Quebec's laws from the new Federal Charter, was primarily aimed at embarrassing the provincial liberals, as were its numerous attacks against the Trudeau government and its "French Power" which it wanted to hold responsible for all of Quebec's ills.

All this, we repeat, has contributed to giving this session a really unpleasant aftertaste, as did those laws that were passed at breakneck speed in the closing hours before adjournment. The Quebec Party, which had criticized this procedure in its predecessors, itself resorted to the same thing.

The government will certainly prefer to remind people of some of the less controversial bills passed, such as the one providing access to the documents of public entities. It will also prefer to emphasize the efforts it made to advance educational reform or the project to integrate Montreal public transport, or its efforts to restructure the institutions of the capital city. But, unfortunately, other memories will remain more deeply graven on public opinion.

9516

CSO: 3100/825

RAMIFICATIONS OF IOANNIDIS-KYPRIANOU DIALOGUE DISCUSSED

Paris LE MONDE in French 25 Jun 82 p 8

[Article by Bernard Brigouleix: "Mr Ioannidis Wants To Wage an Offensive Against Mr Kyprianou by Placing Himself Above Parties"]

[Text] Mr Spyros Kyprianou, president of the Republic of Cyprus, recently proposed before the UN General Assembly the demilitarization and complete disarmament of his country in order to come out of the crisis resulting from the Turkish invasion in the summer of 1974. In an interview given shortly before coming to New York, Mr Kyprianou had, high praise for Greek Prime Minister Papandreou whose positions on the issue are different but with whom he is seeking to become reconciled following their rousing argument last spring (see LE MONDE, 22 May).

Mr Papandreou had particularly criticized the Cypriot president, who fears he will shortly not be reelected, over his electoral pact with the pro-Soviet AKEL, the powerful communist party, and his setting up a kind of vigilance committee to keep watch over government activities.

Nicosia--The electoral alliance concluded between Mr Kyprianou and the communists has not only had repercussions abroad, particularly in Athens. It has also greatly changed the factors in the forthcoming presidential elections scheduled for the end of the year or, at the latest, the beginning of 1983.

The most optimistic, in the opposition, declare that far from insuring the reelection of the outgoing president, this "unnatural" alliance between the communist party and the Right will, to the contrary, hasten its defeat. This, at any rate, is the analysis being made in the entourage of the influential leader of the extreme Right, Mr Glafkos Cleridis, and among the socialists of EDEK [United Democratic Union of the Center] whose banner will be borne by Mr Lyssaridis.

Indeed, both camps, themselves very much removed from each other, feel that Mr Kyprianou's traditional following will not rush to mingle their votes with those of the communists any more than to vote for a representative of the most conventional form of capitalism. Moreover, the vigor of the attacks on Mr Papandreou by AKEL leaders, both now and in the past, has not been conducive to rallying around the present Cypriot chief of state an electorate which as a whole has had almost unqualified admiration for the new Greek prime minister.

The outgoing president will therefore enter the forthcoming elections under difficult conditions despite, or perhaps because of, this new alliance. Many here insistently recall that he had been elected without opposition in January 1978. And in an atmosphere at the least exceptional since his son had been kidnaped shortly before the elections, and the kidnaping, attributed to the extreme Right, had brought about the withdrawal of Mr Cleridis' candidacy. The only recent election that gave a measure of the true following of the president and his friends of the democratic party was the one that gave the latter only less than 20 percent of the vote in May 1981.

The signing of a "minimal program" with the communists does not appear of a kind to stop this decline. Who in the opposition can benefit from this decline? Opinions on this point are much more divergent. Mr Cleridis explains, "We are not ready to fight on a single opposition front for someone whose ideas we do not approve of, on the mere pretext that Mr Kyprianou's handling of affairs has been a catastrophe. If there is to be a rallying together, on clear bases, it seems to be most logical for it to take place around the biggest opposition party, that is ours. It is for our possible partners to decide whether they wish, as I hope, to join us in this fight."

On the other hand, Mr Takis Khatzidimitriou, EDEK secretary general, said, "There is no question of compromising in electoral agreements blindly signed with people who are opposed to us. Our party was greatly disappointed in its feeble electoral results in 1981, it is true. Since then, however, it has been able to climb back up again. The situation today is very different, not to mention the spillover that the socialist victory in Greece can have. We are methodically working in the direction of those sectors of opinion on which we could hardly count: businessmen, peasants, for example. In Limassol, even in Nicosia, we are sure of scoring big points. The socialist message is getting through better and this will be realized at election time."

And then there is Mr Georgios Ioannidis... For a long time assigned by Mr Kyprianou to represent Cyprus in the intercommunal negotiations with the "Turkish Federated State," he resigned with a splash because he totally disagreed with the style and the alliances of the president. This "third man" of the opposition could well find himself once again in the number one position, to judge from the interest the recent announcement of his candidacy has created in very varied sectors of opinion. He has acquired, first as a member of parliament, then as minister and finally in his sensitive capacity as negotiator, the reputation of a true statesman,

honest, cultivated and liberal. His opponents criticize him for not having any clear political doctrine and for boasting about it. They nevertheless admit that "he is a charming man whom we would not want to hurt," in the words of a socialist leader.

"A Startling Lack of a Sense of State"

Mr Ioannidis explains, "It is very simply that I want to give my compatriots the chance to be able to vote for someone who puts himself above parties, that is to say at a level that Mr Kyprianou should not have abandoned. This does not at all mean that I am against political parties. To the contrary. I believe that, especially with the drama that we have been living through since the Turkish landing of 1974, we must unite opinion and the parties that express it. As for the setting up of a vigilance committee to watch over government activities and how it implements the electoral promises of 'the minimal program,' this shows a startling lack of any sense of state on the part of anyone claiming to direct it."

Unquestionably, Mr Ioannidis has qualities not frequently encountered among Cypriot politicians. His lofty views, his impressive rectitude. Will they suffice to assure him that kind of charisma without which it is difficult to become recognized in Nicosia, even though the incumbent does not appear very well off in this regard. His friends assure him. They feel that his impact on opinion will still grow to the point of obliging the other opposition candidates to rally to him, at least during the second round of the presidential elections.

At any rate, Mr Ioannidis' goal is not to perpetuate a certain form of state spectacle nor to throw himself into a game of alliances that he has been careful to confuse with the rallying for which he calls. He has only a few months to prevail against a governmental apparatus and a communist party which will not make him any presents. But, also, against an opposition whose parties and leaders might in the long run be tempted, despite everything, to "hurt him."

5671

CSO: 4619/110

JORGEN LINGER SEEN AS LIKELY NEXT LEFT-SOCIALIST CHAIRMAN

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 10 Aug 82 p 4

[Text] Both Steen Folke and Preben Wilhjelm will be leaving Folketing the next time an election is held.

During the annual VS [Left-Socialist Party] balloting, when party members rank candidates for the next Folketing election, the party acquired a new leading candidate, with Jorgen Linger scoring 563 votes.

Jorgen Linger, a member of the Aarhus City Council, currently stands outside the many factions in the party. The same is true of the second person on the list, Folketing member Anne Grete Holmsgard, who received 558 votes.

The two top candidates sympathized earlier with the Joint Union List group, while the third and fourth on the list, Michael Waldorff and Steen Tinning, who are also members of Folketing, are sympathetic with the old "majority group," that makes up the party center.

This is the first time in 8 years that VS has held the so-called "top 20 vote" without Preben Wilhjelm and Steen Folke. The two have bowed to a party rule that says no one can be a member of Folketing or of a city council or the like for more than 7 years in a row.

Under this rule, both of them will automatically leave Folketing the next time an election is held.

Few Women

The participation in the balloting was very low with only around a third taking part and this makes it hard to determine whether changes have occurred in the party since the congress in May, when the union wing around the Joint Union List and the Vesterbro Gang gained a narrow majority on the executive committee.

Only 2 of the first 10 candidates are women and there were only 4 women in all among the 21 candidates.

This is the list of the top 10, with the number of votes in parenthesis:

Jorgen Lenger (563), Anne Grete Holmsgard (558), Michael Waldorff (432), Steen Tinning (430), Elisabeth Bruun Olesen (395), Jens Karl Jensen (374), Ebbe Sonderriis (362), Keld Albrechtsen (330), Klavs Birkholm (330), John Nielsen (327).

While the union wing has a majority on the party's executive committee, there is a clear preponderance of people unallied with any faction or sympathetic to the other wing of the party among the top Folketing candidates.

6578

CSO: 3106/158

CHANCES OF SDP, NONSOCIALIST COOPERATION DIM

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 14 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Lisbeth Knudsen]

[Text] If Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen wants the help of the nonsocialist parties on an income policy next spring, he should not carry out a tax reform with SF [Socialist People's Party] this fall.

With this clear statement to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, Conservative Party chairman Poul Schluter punctured the prime minister's possibility of having the Social Democratic minority government survive from one issue to another during the next few months in Folketing. He wants coherence in economic policy and tax reform and income policy are closely connected as far as the Conservatives are concerned, Poul Schluter said.

After a Social Democratic executive committee meeting yesterday, Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen announced that as early as the middle of next week he will initiate talks with the political parties on the economic situation and the reforms the government wants implemented. The talks were originally scheduled for September. A short round of talks with the parties is expected next week before the prime minister leaves for an official visit to Iceland from 23 to 27 August. The time for the talks was advanced after many internal deliberations in the circle surrounding the prime minister, still greatly disappointed yesterday over the Radical Liberal refusal to take part in the government. Finance Minister Knud Heinesen in particular has urged a quick clarification of the government's survival possibilities and many in the circle around the prime minister view these possibilities with great pessimism.

The pessimism is substantiated by the statements made to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE by the Conservative Party leader. They come after the prime minister suggested the possibility yesterday of the government's implementing a tax reform in the fall with SF and the Radical Liberals and then asking the nonsocialist parties to help out with an income policy in the spring. It is this possibility the prime minister wants to try out in the talks next week.

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CSO: 3106/158

BRIEFS

MERGER OF LIBERALS, CONSERVATIVES URGED--"Only a merger of the Liberal and Conservative parties can get us through the period of hopelessness. The time is now ripe and a strong nonsocialist alternative is what the government fears most. Optimism will return if a nonsocialist constellation gains mastery over the situation and gets a grip on financial policy." So said former finance minister and vice chairman of the European Parliament, Poul Moller, who regards it as reasonable to assume that a credible nonsocialist alternative could achieve a regular relationship with both the Center-Democrats and the Progressives so that a stable majority could be guaranteed. The idea has been voiced before. The opposition came from the Liberals. "Joining forces would be like a merger between FDB [Danish Co-operative Wholesale Society] and the Irma food chain. The leaders may agree, but the rank and file, as was the case at Irma, feel a greater degree of independence and protest against the merger," said Poul Moller. [By Helle Ravn Larsen] [Text] [Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 14 Aug 82 p 1] 6578

CSO: 3106/158

ARTICLE PROFILES GREENLAND PRIME MINISTER MOTZFELDT

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 8 Aug 82 Sec III pp 1, 3

[Article by Lise Lotte Nielsen]

[Text] Trapper Big Eagle's son Jonathan, the middle child in a family of seven children, decided when he was 14 that he would be a priest and a politician. And when government chairman, Greenland's "prime minister" Jonathan Motzfeldt has decided something, he carries it out.

A meeting with Jonathan Motzfeldt resembles sailing in safe waters, a comparison he would not mind hearing. He is by nature a paternal figure, a strong compact person whose presence fills the space he occupies.

Host Role

Vain? Perhaps a little. Jonathan, as they call him in these parts, is extremely well-dressed. Today, in the foyer of the Arctic Hotel in Narssarsuaq he is dressed in a tweed suit with a dark blue shirt and a white tie with an enamel tie pin of the Greenland Polar bear. It looks good on him.

Siumut [socialist, radical home-rule party], Jonathan Motzfeldt's party, has just celebrated its 5th anniversary with a number of coffee meetings. Greenlanders have elected Siumut people to 13 of the 21 seats on the national council. Siumut means "forward" and one of the major goals of the party is to get Greenland out of EC. The popular referendum in February showed that 53 percent of the voters favored withdrawal. "We are now negotiating for a loose association arrangement. We feel completely alienated in EC. Greenland has a centuries-old tradition of having local trappers' councils--today this means the municipal councils--determine trapping and fishing quotas and policies. It is crazy that people on the continent--not even in Copenhagen, but in Brussels--are administering Greenland's principal trade," said Jonathan Motzfeldt. "We can do this ourselves."

The role of host to the queen, the king of Norway, the president of Iceland and government representatives from the neighboring country of Canada fits Jonathan Motzfeldt. "We feel the eyes of the world are on us now and that

strengthens our self-confidence which is the basis for our growth opportunities in the future," said Jonathan Motzfeldt.

Jonathan travels more than 5 months out of the year. Just before the 1000th anniversary festival, he was in Jameson Land on the east coast to look at the Danish-American test drilling sites for oil. The Joint Danish-Greenland Council for Mineral Raw Materials is preparing a new mining law for Greenland and at this point it is a substantial part of Jonathan Motzfeldt's enormous work sphere.

A day at the office seldom lasts less than 14 hours. "But I am also prime minister, foreign minister, internal affairs minister, economic affairs minister and finance minister," said the chairman of the government.

Jonathan Motzfeldt lives in the beautifully restored Hans Egede House in Nuuk/Godthab with his wife, Margit, who is a teacher from Kastrup, Amager. She has been the Greenland badminton champion several times. Their 16-year-old daughter Karen did not attend the 1000th anniversary celebrations. She is on vacation with a cousin in Dragor, and their son, Klaus Martin, 13, is attending an educational camp on one of the Greenland fjords.

Jonathan Motzfeldt is 43 years old. He was born in the southern Greenland town of Qassimint, near Julianehab. It is inhabited by just under 200 people. He was named for his uncle Jonathan, who was famous for his kayak maneuverings. Jonathan could remain for a long time with his head and body under water, but he always came up again, according to Jonathan Motzfeldt. "The name Jonathan actually means 'gift of God' and I am glad for that. In 1807 our ancestor came here as a national official. His family came from Lueneburger Heide and then settled in Norway. He lived in sin with a Greenland woman and that is why there are Motzfeldts here."

Boarding School

Jonathan did not know a word of Danish when he was sent away from home to boarding school at the age of 13. He went first to Julianehab. He passed his middle school exams and then his teacher's exams, which in his own words he has never used. Then he studied theology at Copenhagen University. He earned every penny for his studies. He was a freelance reporter with Greenland Radio in Copenhagen and often had interpreting jobs for ministries and for the Royal Greenland Trade Company. These jobs gave him insight into a number of things that helped to mature his ideas on the formation of the Siumut Party, which should probably be placed just to the left of the Social Democratic center, including SF [Socialist People's Party]. The party had five founders. In addition to Jonathan, they are Moses Olsen, GRONLANDSPOST-EN editor Jorgen Fleischer, Lars Emil Johansen and Finn Lynge, who is now a member of the European Parliament.

It caused a stir when Jonathan Motzfeldt arranged the first Greenland demonstration in front of Christiansborg in 1964. He wanted to strike the birthplace criterion. This was done. He wanted to introduce home rule and that happened in 1979.

His student years were busy and hard and not at all dull. Jonathan Motzfeldt asked me to say hello to his good student friend, actor Ulf Pilgaard. With warmth and a good long look, he mentioned the now deceased theologian, Jorgen Bukhdal, Jr. From him he received one of the most important items in the official residence, a harmonium. Jonathan loves to play it. A few years ago his sister gave him a harmonica and he entertains his many friends with songs and dances. This happens frequently. Jonathan is by and large a happy man.

Working Day

In the middle of a busy working day--in which every minute is arranged and programmed--he may very well take a break to go and visit friends. They say he can very well set aside an issue in order to talk to an individual on personal matters instead.

It is not just those closest to him who are familiar with Jonathan's music. His songs are played on almost every one of the two weekly Greenland request concerts. The favorite is "Siulivut Nunarpullu," which can be directly translated as, "Homage to the People of Greenland." The melody was written by his good friend, composer Sven Erik Tarp. "We had such a good time while it was being written," says Jonathan Motzfeldt.

As often as possible, Jonathan Motzfeldt attends church and on his trips, he often fills in for former colleagues and conducts a religious service. Recently he preached a sermon in the Seamen's Church in New York. For several years he was a minister in Sydproven Church, which now has a new altar table made of driftwood. He was also a minister in the lovely red wooden church in Julianehab--the church where the altar has a dramatic picture of Jesus calming the storm. On the south wall hangs a lifebuoy from the "Hans Hedtoft" and a tablet bearing the names of those who are still out there.

"When I worked as a minister, I worked all week on my sermons. I admire my colleagues who can improvise in the pulpit. I have to write it down and then read it," said Jonathan Motzfeldt. "I really like to preach. Naturally I keep politics out of the pulpit. It is a solid Christian foundation, the good trapper home background, my family and nature that give me my strength," Jonathan Motzfeldt said.

Trapper

He is a trapper himself and has shot many seals. As early as possible, he and Margit and the children go out on the fjord in their lovely 23-foot Norwegian-built boat, "Amos." It is named after the prophet--"He fought against injustice and I know I would like him if I met him," says Jonathan Motzfeldt.

There is also time for writing--mostly poetry. And reading and other things besides statistics and legislation. He took along when he went to the festivities in the country of the Norse Greenlanders--the present sheepherders

region--a Greenlandic version of H. C. Andersen's fairy tales prepared by former radio chief Frederik Nielsen and pieces by Johannes V. Jensen and Jeppe Aakjaer in Greenlandic. He is reading "Soldier Schweik" and has just reread Johan Borgen's "Denmark, Most Beautiful."

Jonathan's work sphere, the biggest island in the world, is impressive--like the man himself. His calmness and his links to nature are good to be around. But just as the weather in Greenland can change, Jonathan--like everyone else--can become angry and then he resembles a high-tension power plant. As in other matters, he is concise in his anger and when he has said what he thinks, the sun shines again.

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CSO: 3106/156

PRIME MINISTER MOTZFELDT VIEWS UPCOMING POLITICAL ISSUES

Godthab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 28 Jul 82 p 14

[Text] The specter of the birthplace criterion will finally be laid to rest now. Further work to weaken it will be one of Siumut's [socialist, radical home-rule party] main issues in the fall session of the Greenland parliament, according to the head of the Greenland government.

Since the introduction of home rule, almost 4 years have passed "in our own house." The popular referendum showed that people want to break with EC and the negotiations still indicate that the withdrawal date of 1 January 1984 can be met. In the view of the government, these facts are a signal that the next few years should be devoted to a much greater extent to concentrating on internal problems pertaining to Greenland.

"Therefore I feel it is quite natural that the election period beginning after the parliamentary election in April 1983 should be devoted primarily to internal problems concerning Greenland," said government leader Jonathan Motzfeldt in a talk with AG [GRONLANDSPOSTEN].

We had an opportunity to talk to the head of the government just before he went to Jameson Land along with the rest of the executive committee of the Joint Council on Mineral Raw Resources.

"It will be questions of a cultural, economic and business structure nature that will carry the political debate for the next 4 years," said Jonathan Motzfeldt, who announced that the government and the Siumut Party would start moving in this direction as early as the upcoming fall session.

Erosion of the Birthplace Criterion

"We do not yet know in detail what the fall parliamentary session agenda will look like," said the head of the government, but it has already been decided that the government will make a strong effort to further weaken the birthplace criterion. "This specter must finally be laid to rest."

"There is a very concrete political move on the way in this respect, since the government will propose the elimination of the so-called 'dispensation board.'"

Separate Arrangements for Specialists to Continue

Jonathan Motzfeldt is not unaware that there will continue to be some areas in which separate arrangements will be needed. This is true of medical personnel for the health care system and highly qualified technicians, for example.

"But the trend must be clear. We must weed out the number of concrete situations in which we feel, day by day, that there is still differentiated treatment and our intention is that the debate in the fall session should be very concrete and not just a statement of political intentions," said the government leader.

Political Continuation

When the government and Siumut argued within the ANISA [Greenland Anti-EC Movement] cooperation for Greenland's withdrawal from EC, Jonathan Motzfeldt used words like this: "It is unreasonable to have the economic situation in our country artificially fanned by subsidies from outside sources."

"There is a political continuum in the efforts for equal wages for equal work," he says now.

"The wage and employment conditions in this country must also be adapted to the level the economic developments in Greenland are able to bear.

"We cannot always look at Danish wages and compare ours with theirs. It is an accepted fact that our country is such a special area within the national community that solutions must be found that are specifically adapted to Greenland and the conditions of this country.

"Both politically and psychologically I believe in the importance of arriving at a situation in which everyone in this country lives under the same conditions and in which these conditions correspond to the economic capacity of this country."

6578

CSO: 3106/156

HESSE'S GREENS HOLD CONGRESS, REJECT COALITIONS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 16 Aug 82 p 5

[Article by Bernd Erich Heptner: "Hesse's Greens Want No Part of Coalitions with 'Established Parties'"]

[Text] Hofheim, 15 August—There seems to be no more urgent issue occupying the Hesse Greens' minds than who is to speak on behalf of the party in TV debates. At their Land congress this weekend in Hofheim am Taunus no other topic was discussed with such vehemence and at such length. Hurt pride, ambition and the fear that the Frankfurt Greens might try to steal the show and take over the reins of the Hessian Land organization were such that those taking part in the discussions were carried away sufficiently to engage in personal attacks. At length, one of the Greens present was heard to say: "When substantive issues come up for discussion, everyone leaves the hall. But when dirty linen gets washed, everybody comes back and the list of speakers gets longer and longer." Outside the hall, another man was saying: "If TV ever filmed these childish debates, we would be done for in the Landtag elections."

What started the controversy was that the party's Landtag candidates recently got together and decided in a pragmatic and "media-oriented" way that those of them who "put on the best show" and had the "greatest gift of gab" would represent the Greens in TV debates. But this type of decision making process was not in line with the Greens' idea of "grass roots democracy." For this reason, many of them—including quite a few who could barely hide their own interest in appearing on television—insisted that the Land congress should have been consulted first. And this was now done last weekend. The verdict of the party congress was that all Greens are equal and none are more equal than others. In principle, all Greens could go "on television." But the Landtag candidates may decide among themselves who should do so when. Thus, at the end of a 3-hour debate, the original pragmatic decision of a few days ago was accepted by the "basis" after the fact; the "basis" in this particular instance consisting of some 80 Greens who represented the allegedly 2,500 party members and had come to attend the "plenary meeting" in Hofheim.

The real purpose of the meeting, however, was to agree on what position the Greens are to take vis-a-vis the other political parties. Of some 60 Greens who were in the hall when the vote was taken about 50 reiterated the well-known Greens position that they are not prepared to enter into a coalition with the "established parties" and that only "pinpoint cooperation" on particular issues would be considered. The question of whether to "tolerate" an SPD minority government in case there was a "Hamburg-type result" at the

Hesse elections was not definitively answered at the Hofheim meeting but the course and outcome of the debate indicated that the Greens would not. The final resolution said: "We do not propose to make any concessions concerning good behavior at this time. The form and content of our policies will be decided by ourselves. The Greens in Hesse feel that their political and social responsibility forbids them to agree to or enter into any compromises affecting issues of life and survival or to depart from the grass roots democratic view of what they stand for. The Greens are prepared to work together with the established political parties on substantive issues or, for that matter, with individual deputies, if these find the demands and program proposals in the Greens' platform for Hesse acceptable. But we are not prepared to deviate from our basic views or to abandon Green principles in exchange for a catalogue of demands which could never be complete."

This resolution was contrary to the views of a minority which feels that the Greens must become "politically acceptable" and be ready to enter into compromises. This minority believes that only in this way could a wider public be won over to the policies of the Greens. With an uncompromising all-or-nothing policy, the Greens would appeal only to the intelligentsia and never obtain more than 5 to 10 percent of the vote.

But the majority held to the "fundamental opposition" view and to the conviction that the Greens would be corrupted, if they shared power. One party member said: "We must work for an outcome such as in Hamburg. Ungovernability should be our goal. People don't want to be governed; they want to be able to decide their fate themselves." The aim should be to get the FDP out of parliament and to confront the SPD with the choice of either having to enter into a coalition with "Dregger-Dracula" or to listen to the conditions of the Greens. The fact that these utterances were not roundly applauded was not due to their content but to the drastic language used. A delegate from Frankfurt said there was a need to "crack the power centers open and stay the course." He was applauded for saying so. He then went on to call the debate about supporting the SPD a secondary matter. The idea was to "alter the consciousness of the people" and thereby create "pressure from the outside" in order to achieve a different type of politics as well as different political contents. This, he said, was a matter of 5 to 10 years. The "man who wanted to alter consciousness" was told that one could not create "an entirely new society" but most of those present appeared to agree with him just the same.

The discussion about the controversial Libya trip by Hessian Landtag candidate Gertrud Schilling—who is No 2 on the Greens list—showed once again how radically the Greens' views differ from those of the other political parties on what the functions of the state and of society are. Mr Vogt, a member of the Greens' national executive committee, still calls the trip a positive experience although he has been urged to resign; but Ms Schilling last weekend at Hofheim seemed prepared to make amends—though not as concerned the speech she gave in Qaddafi's presence parts of which were later published but as concerned the trip itself which she now calls "politically naive," thereby mollifying the Hessian Greens somewhat. It appears that the

Greens did not object to what Ms Schilling told Qaddafi which was that the Greens "have set their sights on abolishing the legislatures in the long run and to practice direct democracy;" that they wish to "unbalance and destroy the power game" of the other political parties. Taking the Libyan People's Congress as a model, she said by her own admission in Libya, "we have organized ourselves in the Green party and are aiming to achieve similar things for all citizens." The demand for the abolition of the legislatures is old hat for many Hessian Greens who do not consider it worth discussing further. But when one asks what should take the place of the parliaments, one receives different answers and sometimes no answer at all.

9470

CSC: 3103/638

PAPER CITES USSR'S OVERFISHING IN LIGHT OF TREATY TALKS

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 15 Jul 82 p 20

[Editorial: "The Soviets and Overfishing"]

[Text] Matthias Bjarnason, member of the Althing and former minister of fisheries, says in a MORGUNBLADID article published yesterday that Steingrímur Hermannsson has long desired to renounce the 1977 agreement with the Russians on scientific cooperation in fisheries. Hermannsson's reasons are the measures against overfishing of redfish, which is caught in large numbers by the Soviet trawlers operating outside the Icelandic 200-mile limit. Bjarnarson, on the other hand, wants to find out first, with respect to the agreement, whether or not there is mutual interest among Icelanders and Russians in protecting those species of fish caught by Iceland and the Soviet Union. Bjarnason is against renouncing the 1977 agreement until it has been ascertained how the Soviets interpret scientific cooperation in fisheries. We second the views of Bjarnason and call upon Steingrímur Hermannsson to take action.

9857

CSO: 3111/46

BRIEFS

LABOR PARTY BEGINS CAMPAIGN--Hertogenbosch, 17 Aug--The Labour Party officially opened its campaign for the September 8 general elections in this southern Dutch town on Monday night. Campaign leader Kees Bode said Labour would primarily propagate its own platform. "We will defend our own identity. This does not mean however we'll shun a fight if forced upon us," he added. He expected an election battle with strong anti-Labour overtones. Labour's leading candidate, former Social Affairs Minister Joop den Uyl, stressed at the meeting that his party would stick to its policy of a parallel development of wages and social security benefits. He said that plans were being developed to break the link between wages and social security benefits to "second-rate citizens," he said, adding that the Labour party would not accept such a development. Mr den Uyl reiterated that his party would not accept government responsibility for the stationing of new nuclear missiles in the Netherlands. He criticized the CDA party's leading candidate, Prime Minister Dries van Agt, for his 'unreasonable demands' on this issue. Mr den Uyl wondered whether these demands met the requirements of political ethics since they amounted to a blockade of Labour participation in a new cabinet. Meanwhile, four prominent Labour and CDA leaders have accepted invitations by the Socialist VARA broadcasting corporation to take part in a televised debate on Monday, September 6. They are former Housing Minister Marcel van Dam and former Culture Minister Andre van der Louw (both Labour) and floor leader Ruud Lubbers and Farm Minister Jan de Koning (both CDA). [Text] [The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 18 Aug 82 pp 2-3]

LUBBERS' VIEWS--The Hague, 13 Aug--CDA floor leader Ruud Lubbers told a television interviewer last night he wanted to return as floor leader after the September elections. He said he was not seeking a ministerial portfolio but would return as floor leader if the CDA parliamentary party elected him. He warned that the post-election CDA parliamentary party should be homogeneous and that there would be no place in it for dissidents refusing to support a government of which the CDA was a member. (Under the first Van Agt cabinet, a centre-right coalition between the CDA and the Liberal VVD party, ten CDA parliamentarians refused to undertake to support the government, but they never voted against it when it would have brought about its fall.) [Text] [The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 14 Aug 82 p 1]

COMMUNIST PARTY APPEAL-- Amsterdam, 17 Aug--The communist party's leading election candidate, Mrs. Ina Brouwer, called here on Monday for consultations of the Labour, pacifist PSP, radical PPR and communist CPN parties before and after the September 8 elections to set the scene for a leftist government. Every effort should be made to prevent the formation of a cabinet by CDA leader Dries van Agt, Mrs Brouwer said at the start of party's election campaign. The progressive parties should take the initiative for the formation of a new cabinet to ensure that Mr van Agt could not carry out a policy aimed at the acceptance of nuclear missiles and at breaking down the social security system, she said. A major social struggle was ahead to check the reduction of the number of jobs, create new jobs, protect the minimum income brackets and safeguard the independence of women, Mrs Brouwer said. [Text] [The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 18 Aug 82 p 3]

PEACE MOVEMENT ON ELECTION--The Hague, 16 Aug--The Dutch peace movements have jointly distributed a folder urging the electorate to vote in the September 8 general elections against the stationing of new nuclear weapons in the Netherlands. The folder points out that only the Labour, radical PPR, pacifist PSP, communist CPN and right-wing protestant EVP parties are opposed to the deployment of new nuclear weapons here. Last November the organisations responsible for the folder, which includes the Roman Catholic Pax Christi movement and the Inter-Church Peace Council (IKV), organised the huge demonstration against nuclear weapons in Amsterdam. The folder says that the Liberal VVD party is in favour of accepting the new cruise missiles in the Netherlands. It further points out that CDA party Dries van Agt is also in favour of this, while the CDA election platform does not rule out acceptance of the missiles here. [Text] [The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 16 Aug 82 p 2]

CDA CRITICIZES PEACE MOVEMENT--Voorschoten, 18 Aug--The CDA party feels that the Inter-Church Peace Council (IKV) and Pax Christi peace movement's advise to the electorate to vote for the left-wing parties in the September 8 elections undermined the Geneva talks on the reduction of nuclear weapons. (The two organisations made this call last weekend, stating that the left-wing parties were the only political parties which rejected the stationing of new nuclear weapons in the Netherlands.) The CDA party executive and the party's second chamber members noted in a communique after a meeting here on Tuesday night that the U.S.-Soviet talks in Geneva on the reduction of nuclear weapons were of essential importance. The party hoped that these talks would make stationing new nuclear missiles in the Netherlands superfluous. People undermining these talks by making premature statements assumed great responsibility because they increased the risk of inadequate result of Geneva negotiations. The CDA had confidence in a positive result of these talks, the communique said. [Text] [The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 19 Aug 82 p 1]

CSO: 3120/89

UCD, PSOE UNITE TO OUST RTVE DIRECTOR

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 23 Jul 82 p 12

[Article by Joaquin Prieto]

[Text] The 9 months which have passed since the appointment of Carlos Robles Piquer as director general of RTVE [Spanish Radio and Television] have been marked by a fierce political battle between the Left, on one hand, and the UCD [Democratic Center Union] and the Democratic Coalition, on the other. Accusations that Robles Piquer is gradually leaning toward Fraga and the growing dissatisfaction of Centrist sectors with his administration have been determining factors in the effort to bring about his downfall, if indeed his replacement is not the result of a pact: the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] was pushing for the appointment of an "inside" professional as acting director until the elections--according to Socialist sources--and Nasarre is not the solution they sought, although he is well known to the Left for his former cooperation in opposition to Franco.

A special Council of Ministers session named Carlos Robles Piquer as director general of RTVE on 23 October 1981. A few hours earlier Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo and Agustin Rodriguez Sahagun--presidents of the government and of the UCD, respectively--had forced the resignation of the man who held that post at the time, Fernando Castedo, breaking the UCD-PSOE agreement which had permitted his appointment.

Robles began his term by defining himself as "a man of the center, in small letters," a friend of Calvo Sotelo since adolescence, in spite of which the latter did not give him any orders: he only told him that things were not turning out well, "for example in the use of the language and in the carelessness with which cultural content was presented," and in the treatment of moral and family values which most of the people hold dear." To such slight directives--at least from the political point of view--Robles Piquer added an apparently aloof attitude toward the job: besides stating that he did not want to be stuck in that position, he expressed his hope he could last "at least until the general elections, if I don't get blown up by a mine."

In the weeks following, Leftist protests took to the courts as a socialist recourse against the appointment, "because they believed the general principles of the RTVE Statute had been subverted, since Castedo's resignation arose from political demands and not from questions of his professional competence." The Supreme Tribunal declared the appeal inadmissible, and the PSOE went to the Constitutional Tribunal. Castedo himself did not make too much of the pressures to which he was subjected, when he was called to appear, along with Robles Piquer, before the parliamentary control committee.

Meanwhile, the Left was implementing its first political battle against the director general: at the end of March Santiago Carrillo accused him of turning television into "the political organ of the broad Right," while Alfonso Guerra denounced as "coupist" the TVE report on the 23-F trials, particularly because of its emphasis on phrases which sought to implicate the king in the preparations for the coup d'etat. The offensive, begun in Parliament, continued in that public body's Council of Administration. This first battle did not prosper, due to the fact that UCD and CD [Democratic Coalition] solidly maintained their support for Robles Piquer and hindered or blocked, as the case required, the various attempts to attack the director general's administration.

UCD Changes Attitude After Andalusian Elections

A report published by El PAIS at the end of March asserted that TVE news broadcasts "give the same amount of space to the political parties and the Parliament as they do to the weather reports." Another study of the same factors revealed, 2 months later, that "Manuel Fraga was the politician who received most TVE coverage in the electoral campaign for the Andalusian Parliament."

RTVE's news coverage of the Andalusian elections was severely criticized by the Socialists, but it was also criticized by some UCD sectors. On 11 May, Rafael Escuredo, at that time a candidate for the presidency of the autonomous Andalusian Government, had called publicly for the resignation of Robles as director general of RTVE. The PSOE-UCD confrontation coincided with open warfare within the RTVE Council of Administration, in which representatives of the Centrist party defended RVE's news format against criticisms made by socialists and communists of "a systematic impoverishment of national news," as well as the "unjustifiable egotistical use of the medium" by the director general.

When the Andalusian campaign was over and its results known--an absolute majority for the Socialist Party and a predominance of the Popular Alliance over the Democratic Center Union--, criticisms of the RTVE director general's administration expanded to include substantial sectors of the UCD itself, which thought to find a direct relationship between the news programs offered by that medium and the Centrist failure in the elections.

The day after the Andalusian elections, Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo and Felipe Gonzalez held a meeting in Moncloa palace, a good part of which was devoted--according to subsequent newsleaks--to the RTVE problem. It appears that the Socialist leader called for the replacement of Carlos Robles Piquer as director general of RTVE, arguing that that measure was of as much interest to the UCD as to his own party, since the news program offered on the small screen had favored Manuel Fraga. Based on this meeting, part of the government and the Centrist sector closest to Adolfo Suarez pressed for Robles Piquer's resignation, thus splitting the firm support given him by the UCD and AP[Popular Alliance] up to that time. Things being thus, the communist motion in the courts asking for Robles Piquer's dismissal was quickly reactivated. Support of the initiative by part of the Socialist Party and the aforementioned dissatisfaction within the UCD--and the critical or reticent attitudes of other minorities--appeared to augur a moral reproof of the director general of RTVE in the Congress of Deputies. The government--and more specifically its president, Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo--worked to avert eh reproof; government circles said that Robles Piquer's dismissal was not up to Parliament, but other political and public opinion sectors had no doubts about the "moral censure" against the RTVE director which would be voted in Congress and whose political repercussions might even reach the chief executive himself.

It was under such circumstances that the voting took place in the plenary session of the Congress on whether or not to include in the day's agenda the motions calling for the resignation of the director general of RTVE. To the surprise of many, 29 Leftist deputies--23 of them from the PSOE--were absent from the floor at the crucial moment, which caused the defeat of the Left's petition and saved the government from defeat.

Unexplained Agreement

The first explanations concerning this outcome indicated an agreement between UCD and PSOE, by which the Socialists declined to cause the fall of the government in return for Centrist support for the candidacy of Joaquin Ruiz-Gimenez, PSOE candidate for attorney general. Sources within the PSOE executive denied the existence of such an "exchange of favors" (in fact, UCD did not support Ruiz Gimenez in the aforementioned voting and gave another story: Carlos Robles Piquer would be replaced shortly as head of RTVE by an acting director who would carry on until the next elections. The president of the Socialist parliamentary group, Alfonso Guerra, expressed his confidence in the immediate termination of the RTVE director: "The government," said Guerra, "is going to have to fire him, because he has already become an internal problem within the UCD."

The last phase of the political fight against Robles Piquer has centered around the broadcast of the program, "Golpe a la turca" [Turkish-style Coup] the evening of 18 June, which agains set the Suarists and the Leftist parties against the director general of RTVE, charging that the content of the program defended coups d'etat. The RTVE parliamentary control committee approved a very moderate text mentioning two articles of the RTVE Statute which had been violated, precisely those which could cause the

dismissal of the director general. The RTVE Council of Administration opened a file on Carlos Robles Piquer and decided unanimously that there had been "objective negligence" on the part of the director general with respect to the program in question, although that unanimity was shattered when the time came to establish whether the program violated Article 3 (respect for and defense of constitutional values) and Article 4 (principles which must inspire RTVE news reporting) of the RTVE Statute.

This happened on 14 July. A week passed between the verdict of "negligence" and the resignation of Robles Piquer, in the midst of the internal reorganization of the Centrist Party.

Lavilla's First "Goal"

The naming of Eugenio Nasarre as director general of RTVE implies, in fact, that Landelino Lavilla has scored his first "goal" in Spain's real power apparatus. Because Nasarre, a Christian Democrat from the first along with Joaquin Ruiz-Gimenez, is considered one of the men closest to the new, all-powerful head of the Democratic Center Union.

Assuring himself of control of television with a figure like Eugenio Nasarre--who is not difficult for other political forces to accept--Lavilla is beginning to put into practice his policy of "total control," not limiting his actions by criteria of representativity of the various Centrist political families. In any case, Lavilla already had a certain amount of internal support in TVE, where his former press boss, Manuel Roglan, directs one of the news broadcasts. The few faithful followers that Lavilla had before his election as president of UCD appear now to be called to perform key functions in the party apparatus and, perhaps, even in an upcoming, reorganized government.

The name of Juan Antonio Ortega y Diaz Ambrona, present secretary of formation of the Centrist party, is constantly mentioned as an aspirant to "higher duties." Manuel Villar Arregui and Fernando Alvarez de Miranda are other Christian Democrats who might end up accepting responsible positions. Both, like Inigo Caverio himself, present secretary general of UCD, admit that the ideal solution for the party in power is named Lavilla.

It seems more improbable that other personalities very close to Lavilla, such as attorney Daniel Garcia Pita (who practices in the office of the liberal Antonio Garrigues) or the diplomat Ramon Gandarias, cabinet chief in the presidency of the Congress of Deputies, will be promoted to other jobs.

Escuredo Calls for Dismissal of TVE Director in Andalusia

The president of the Autonomous Government of Andalusia, Rafael Escuredo, sent a personal letter yesterday afternoon to Ignacio Romero de Solis, regional director of TVE in Andalusia, asking for his resignation.

Escuredo, after congratulating himself of the resignation of the director general of the public enterprise, Carlos Robles Piquer, reiterated that Romero de Solis's administration "does not respond to the needs and demands of the Andalusian people," according to our correspondent in Sevilla, Jose Aguilar.

After recording that the regional director was named by the director general, who has resigned, the president of the first autonomous Andalusian government said that Romero de Solis should resign for reasons of personal and political cohesion. In addition he asked him "not to continue in a situation which I, as president of the Junta of Andalusia, consider untenable." Ignacio Romero de Solis has been director of the regional TVE center since last spring, and it was during the electoral campaign for the Andalusian Parliament that Rafael Escuredo began to criticize his administration.

8735

CSO: 3110/184

PNV PRESIDENT CRITICAL OF LOAPA, UCD, PSOE, ETA

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 26 Jul 82 p 10

[Interview with Xabier Arzallus, president of the National Council of the Basque Nationalist Party, by Tonia Etxarri in Bilbao; date of interview not specified]

[Text] "The LOAPA [Organic Law for Harmonizing the Autonomy Process] is a joke. The bishops have understood that, they have grasped the profound sorrow of the majority of this people, and they have publicized their criticism, which does not happen often," stated Xabier Arzallus, president of the National Council of the National Basque Party [PNV], concerning the harsh pastoral letter published Saturday by the prelates of the Basque Country in regard to the controversial LOAPA. "They did not interfere in politics," he continued, "because the desire that this people should find peaceful solutions has nothing to do with politics, but with the most basic coexistence. They have felt serious concern in the face of the possible approval of the LOAPA and they have remarked on it. Concern for peace does not mean interference in politics." Arzallus, born 49 years ago in Azcoitia in the midst of a Carlist family, is the leader of the hegemonic party in the Basque Country. In an interview granted to EL PAIS, hours before debate was to begin in the senate, he declared: "It is still a bill; it is a matter of preventing its becoming law. If it goes into effect there can be a repetition of the formula of the era of statute law: a simple written text is not carried out."

[Question] The pastoral message by Basque bishops on the LOAPA has produced an enormous commotion at precisely the time when there is an exacerbated sensitivity on the subject in the Basque Country. What do you think about the position taken by the prelates?

[Answer] I was not surprised by the Basque bishops' pastoral message against the LOAPA. These gentlemen, who made a commitment against violence when many people still remained in their houses--I am referring to the presence of

Bilbao's auxiliary bishop in the demonstration that we called against terrorism last May--have expressed themselves clearly in favor of peace. For me the key to the pastoral message is in the sentence where they indicate that they are not choosing this subject in order to elevate it above the 'other threats to justice and peace.' The bishops do not go into technical details. They simply reflect the popular uneasiness with a law that harms the Statute.

The LOAPA is a joke, the bishops have understood that, they have grasped the profound sorrow of the majority of this people, and they have published their criticisms, which does not happen often.

[Question] Was the bishops' document political?

[Answer] The bishops are not involving themselves in politics with this pastoral message. The desire that this people should find peaceful solutions is very important, and has nothing to do with politics, but with the most basic coexistence. They have felt serious concern in the fact of the possible approval of the LOAPA and they have remarked on it. Concern for peace does not mean interference in politics. And this should be clearly understood by those who on more than one occasion have called on the church to speak out against violence.

[Question] It is said that the PNV has had something to do with the pastoral message.

[Answer] It is not true. My party has supported the bishops neither directly nor indirectly. I personally found out about the document in the newspaper. In Madrid they ought to reflect on what the LOAPA means for the Basque Country. When we say no we mean no. The proof of the profound uneasiness being felt in the Basque Country on account of the possible approval of the LOAPA is that not only the university has spoken out against it, but the church as well has publicly made known its disagreement.

[Question] Would the PNV be satisfied with the statutory development if there were no LOAPA?

[Answer] Not necessarily. It is one thing that there is a retreat, as in the case of the LOAPA, and another thing that there is a slowdown, as with the slow pace of the transfers. In my conversations with President Calvo Sotelo I have always indicated our concern above all regarding the LOAPA. On one occasion I stated to him that I would prefer open constitutional reform to reform behind my back, as with the LOAPA. He responded that the harmonizing law needed to be approved as soon as possible to prevent further deterioration in the Spanish political situation, but he also promised me that some fundamental agreements would be reached. And now it is clear: The LOAPA is almost unchanged. I understand that Calvo Sotelo has been a slave to the PSOE, because I have my suspicions about how this LOAPA was brought into being, overshadowed by the 23rd of February; but in this respect I should also say that Calvo Sotelo did not keep his word to me.

This LOAPA, which supposes an express, tacit, imposed or assumed commitment in view of the situation created after 23 February, is causing us a lot of worries. The PSOE knows perfectly well that if there had been substantial changes in the harmonizing law we would have supported the UCD policy. Therefore, the entire socialist policy has been directed toward defending, with more enthusiasm than from the centrists, the law injurious to the Statute.

[Question] But let us return to the PNV's attitude in case there were no LOAPA: Would its appraisal be positive in regard to the statutory development?

[Answer] I am not satisfied with the statutory development, but it is much more acceptable than a retreat or a possible retreat of this magnitude.

[Question] What does the PNV intend to do if the harmonizing law is passed? Will it defend the necessity of not observing it? Will it propose that it be endorsed by the Basque people by means of a referendum?

[Answer] Not to observe the LOAPA... We are observing the Statute because it is a law that is positive and endorsed. And however much the LOAPA may be an organic law, if, as we understand it, it rescinds certain provisions of the Statute--being approved as an organic law--a conflict will develop between the central government and ourselves. We can ask for a referendum, even though it may not be granted to us. At the moment the LOAPA is still a bill. As long as it is still a bill, we will carry out a series of measures to avoid its becoming a law; we will attempt to avoid this at all costs. If the LOAPA is still passed, legal means remain. Nevertheless, it also depends upon its degree of application, because we can have a repetition of the era of statute law: a simple written text that is not carried out.

[Question] Just as the criticism of the harmonizing law has brought closer together the positions of the Basque and Catalan nationalists, its very existence can impede good relations with the president of the Andalusian parliament.

[Answer] It is possible. If the LOAPA is good for the Andalusian socialists, then we have no objection to its application in Andalusia. But we do not want it to be applied here.

[Question] In addition to the possible obstacles to autonomy that, in the opinion of your party, the LOAPA would produce, does the PNV in particular, as the majority force in the Basque Country, consider itself the main target of the central administration's desire for harmony?

[Answer] Well yes, We also want harmony, and I have already said that we have demonstrated that no more than one occasion; but in signing the autonomy pacts there can be no doubt that they were considering us! My interpretation is that the LOAPA has arisen from the central government's conviction that the Basque Statute's time has passed and that here there is a play of political forces with a parliament in which the central parties have no great strength.

[Question] In the event that the PNV were approached regarding the possibility of participating in a central government, under what conditions would it accept?

[Answer] It all depends on whether there is a restored UCD or a consistent PSOE in the government. Nevertheless, we have no desire to participate in a central government at this time, because we have already done it in 1936. We had a minister under very unfortunate conditions. It all depends upon the conditions imposed on you when power is controlled. Because for us one of the fundamental aspects--although few people believe it--is the control of power. We are now absent, as Basques, not only from the government, but from an Audit Commission and from a Constitutional Tribunal, and we would have wanted to participate in those organizations, be it only to let the voice of autonomy be heard.

[Question] What do you think about the persistent criticism received by the PNV in regard to its use of the elections on the basis of its constant dispute with the central administration?

[Answer] I could show that that is false. But certainly, there have been confidential conversations. I can relate something that I have carried with me from the time of Suarez' resignation. When it came to the investiture of Calvo Sotelo I was there, along with Marcos Vizcaya, Martin Villa, Perez Llorca and Pio Cabanillas. It was the night before the journey of the monarchs to Basque Country. We then made an offer that consisted not only in voting in favor of Calvo Sotelo, but in collaboration and in parliamentary support, in exchange for the previous defining of several fundamental points of the Statute. And later we proposed establishing a permanent point of contact so as to present to them in advance any bill that was to be submitted to parliament, in the same way that we required them to consult us first on any legislative initiative that might affect the Statute. They did not accept. I believe that their conscience must be bothering them.

[Question] On numerous occasions you have attributed your party's differences with Herri Batasuna [Popular Unity] or ETA to the violent methods that they espouse. Is that the only discrepancy? Perhaps there is some identity in the political and ideological goals that both sides are pursuing?

[Answer] Evidently the ideals are very similar, although one must make serious distinctions. We are not really a revolutionary party, and these gentlemen in the way in which they express themselves are light-years away from what we favor as a political course. In regard to national aspirations, I have nothing against the KAS [Patriotic Socialist Coordination] as an alternative. I could endorse it from top to bottom. Its practicality is another thing, but that is not the main obstacle. It is not just the ends, but the means as well that are important when it is a matter of being able to concur with someone. And at times the means can distort the ends. One of our objectives is to restore nationalism, with a personality of our own.

[Question] Does opposing the ETA still imply negotiating with it?

[Answer] Of course, But I am more sceptical all the time. I believe that the ETA lacks the will to negotiate, because when the opportunity presents itself it imposes impossible conditions and, on the other hand, I see neither the strength nor sufficient representation in the Spanish Government to begin negotiations. In this sense, in any case, I believe that we could contribute much if we had the political power granted to us by the Statute, which is no more than the right to defend our lives and property.

[Question] This is a subject that during the past year has provoked bitter disputes between the Basque Government and the state representatives in the autonomous community...

[Answer] You said it. Between the Basque Government and the state representatives, in the plural, because there is a double state presence in the autonomous Basque community. To have a government representative, in addition to the civilian governors, is an original way to solve political unemployment, but I do not understand it.

9746

CSO: 3110/192

UCD'S LAVILLA OPTIMISTIC ABOUT PARTY, DEMOCRACY

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 15 Aug 82 pp 14, 15

[Interview with UCD president Landelino Lavilla, by Miguel Angel Aguilar, in Madrid; date not specified]

[Text] Contrary to common sense, and out of a sense of responsibility: this is how Landelino Lavilla described his acceptance of the presidency of UCD [Democratic Center Union] at the meeting of that political council held on 12-13 July. The respected president of the Congress of Deputies, and number one man in the highly exclusive group of attorneys in the State Council, with obvious background in other critical areas (secretary of the Council of the Spanish Bank of Credit, and head of the Catholic Publishers), defeated in the Congress of Palma de Mallorca, where he headed the Centrist critics of the time, and a cautious person (therein lies the clause on return, which allows his immediate predecessor, Calvo Sotelo, to resume the presidency of UCD), he considered himself obliged to drink this Centrist cup that he would have preferred to decline.

A fine jurist, and precise in his manner, he is striving to dissociate his new, added responsibilities as president of the party from those which he has exercised, with a success acknowledged by all, since the establishment of the present legislature in March 1979, as president of the Congress of Deputies. Strongly addicted to intellectual activity, and moreover forced by reason of his institutional position to reflect constantly on the reasoning and arguments of each and every one of the parties with parliamentary representation which have a seat on the Spokesmen's Board of Congress, Landelino Lavilla is now threatening to assume the belligerent position of the UCD leadership, when the bells heralding the imminent election campaign can already be heard.

Those who have brought him to this area will receive the response from his previous experience in the Jaen district, for which he received a deputy's certificate, and in which he fought on behalf of other party colleagues in the Andalusian regional elections on 23 May. He is considered as a keen contender in the political battle, but has predicted his rejection of aggressiveness, which is completely out of keeping with his usual personal style.

Firmly entrenched on the right, the architecture of his mental faculties relates to weighty concepts far removed from the daring and projections of the opinion polls, and the campaigns of political imagery, with the twists of Baroque carvings, which are liked so much in the agencies of Rafael Anson.

A brilliant speaker, his address on the third anniversary of the Constitution (filled with emotional democratic stringency, which made demands on all of us) will go down in the anthologies of the parliamentary genre.

His intellectual coolness has kept him alert to danger, without letting down his guard. In oral or written exchange, it is very difficult to make Landelino Lavilla say what he has decided to be silent on. This is probably a virtue of a proven political "baron," but it has not failed to cause despair for the reporter who is seeking an opening for a hot news item in closeness and personal contact.

Of the questions announced in advance for this interview, he chose to skip the one relating to those (Federico Silva, Afonso Osorio, Miguel Herrero and Oscar Alzaga) who were removed in the attempt to raise a Christian Democratic banner, and those who are inspiring the current extreme orientation of the press apparatus which is traditionally closest to that cause. He put off for further explanation some enlightening statements of his in LA VANGUARDIA during 1973. Therein lies the clue for fans of the periodical libraries.

Other questions already answered were promptly reinforced by actions or statements by the government or its president, Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo. For example, that of the attempt declared in a flight over the Atlantic to repeat the Centrist operation of 1977, this time adding Adolfo Suarez, Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, Antonio Garrigues Walker and Oscar Alzaga to Landelino Lavilla. For example, that of the "countersign" represented by the appointment of Carlos Robles Piquer to the Institute of Ibero-American Cooperation, an appointment to which might be promptly added others such as that of Jaime Mayor Orjea to the government delegation in the Basque Country, and that of Gen Jose Gaston Molina to head the Infantry Academy in Toledo.

At the UCD's executive headquarters on Arlaban Street, the new secretary is working during these August days inside, without the burdensome pressure of telephones. The new distribution of offices is almost finished, to accommodate all those who have been appointed; as well as the new iconography, after a careful elimination of the posters and stickers of Adolfo Suarez, which had invaded everywhere with his electoral smile. Landelino Lavilla, who has not yet arranged for his office, received the reporters in the office of Juan Antonio Ortegas.

[Question] Now that you are in the presidency of UCD, which you assumed on Tuesday, 13 July, how do you interpret the course of action taken by your party since the election victory of 1979 and, more recently since the operation of the "critics" before the congress at Palma de Mallorca in February 1981?

[Answer] The course of action pursued by UCD since 1979, insofar as political and government action are concerned, appears to me to have been positive on the whole; because it has represented the putting into operation and the development of the democratic institutions called for in the Constitution. However, I must admit that there have been flaws and inadequacies which we are attempting to overcome in the new phase that has begun.

As for UCD's internal problems, it is obvious that they could not be solved, unfortunately, at the time when they occurred, through internal debate and agreement,

and with the necessary discipline. The Palma congress did not catch the conflicts that existed in the party. The proposal that I made at that congress was intended to begin a process of regeneration and clarification of the party as a Centrist option.

Subsequent events have proven that members of the party, including some who backed my proposals at Palma, were able to disregard their Centrist commitment and move to other political options. In any event, I am attempting to regard the divisions as being surmounted, and to work with all those who still believe, as I do, in a political plan of the Center.

'The De Facto Authorities Are Not Seeking to Supplant the Political Authority'

[Question] The time that has elapsed makes it possible to consider with perspective the political evolution undergone by some of the leading defenders of UCD's internal democracy, who were then so close to you. What objective role would you assign them now, in the process of an explosion of the Center shown in recent months?

[Answer] There is no real correlation between the defense of internal democracy in the party and the political evolution of some toward the right. Internal democracy, starting with a militant rank and file that is enlightened and identified with the Centrist plan, still seems to me to be an unavoidable necessity. By internal democracy, I mean the effectiveness of political debate among the members of the party, abiding by the majority decision and respect for the minorities, with external discipline in any event.

The political evolution of those individuals whom you have mentioned has no connection with their defense of internal democracy. I simply think that they have changed their opinion, because they have joined another party, or have created a new one.

Obviously, I find no objective reasons for that change of opinion. It is impossible to explain the departure from the party of this or that individual because of UCD's simultaneous shift to the right or the left. We are well aware of the contradiction of those who call for unity among those who are alike, so as to break off from those with whom they have shared a common plan up until now. The explanation must be different, associated with the proximity of the elections and the expectations that they arouse.

[Question] The accounts given by Adolfo Suarez and Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo of what happened at the meetings of the "Trilateral" are conflicting. As a third participant, could you explain what you think were the reasons, the convictions or the pressure that were expressed, which prompted Calvo Sotelo's publicized refusal to propose and back as his own the candidacy of Adolfo Suarez? What were the real demands made by the former president?

[Answer] I have already explained in the political council that the three of us agreed that the situation would require stand-by powers. There was no agreement that Adolfo Suarez should assume the presidency, an action which he himself made contingent on its being proposed, backed and upheld by Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo.

[Question] At your first press conference as UCD president, on the night of your election, you claimed that you would like to have the support of Adolfo Suarez. In launching his CDS, Suarez has been generous in his praise for you, and has repeated his best wishes for the office that has been entrusted to you in UCD. Is it possible that some agreement might be proposed, as was noted in Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo's statements while flying, and as has already been requested by the Toledo provincial committee? On what bases could it be implemented? Would it go into effect before or after the elections?

[Answer] I expressed my desire to have support from Adolfo Suarez, and I did so because of a political assessment and also because of the personal esteem and affection that I have for him. Adolfo Suarez' decision to undertake a political plan parallel to that of UCD, but outside of UCD, seems to me to be a mistake. I see no objective reasons for a separate plan.

Moreover, and as you know, it is the UCD line, approved by the political council, not to make coalitions before the elections.

[Question] Do the unmistakable features of religious denominationalism and the not to be underestimated relations with the power centers of big banking that are attributed to you presage any position established by you toward the de facto authorities, which are noticeably bent on taking from the political authority the preeminence established in the Constitution of 1978?

[Answer] The ones that you term de facto authorities, apparently referring to the Church and the banks, are not, in my opinion, seeking to take from the political authority its constitutional powers. My religious convictions confirm my commitment to democracy as a system which best guarantees the dignity of the human being. I expressed that commitment unequivocally in the speech which I delivered before Congress on 9 December of last year, which certainly voiced my idea concerning the preeminence of the political authority.

[Question] Whereas the 1977 and 1979 elections were a contest that took place in the center of the field, to use soccer terminology (the Centrist right wanted to win votes from PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party], and the Socialist left wanted to win votes from UCD), last May, Popular Alliance and the CEOE [Spanish Confederation of Business Organizations] attempted a bipolarizing plan in Andalusia. In the forthcoming campaign, will UCD opt preferably for the left-right axes, or will it give priority in its positions to the defense of the constitutional system of liberties against the attempts to take us back to authoritarianism?

[Answer] UCD's great achievement has been to shape a political picture that is unprecedented in our troubled history up until now, wherein the majority sector of voters have been able to remove themselves from the traditional Spanish temptation toward extremism. But, at the same time, there has been a second supplementary effect, reinforcing the former one: With the Center occupied by a majority political force, joined together in an authentic party of masses, there has occurred a centripetal tension in the left and right wing parties, attempting to extend their electoral frontier exactly to the center and, consequently, producing proposals that are progressively moderate. In my view, that is the most positive occurrence in this period, an occurrence with genuine historic dimensions, which no one is entitled to jeopardize out of electoral expediency or party interest.

'I Don't Believe in the Electoral Viability of an Independent Liberal Plan'

From this standpoint, in ratifying its center option, UCD will attempt to prevent, insofar as it is able, the bipolarization of Spanish political activity, which has had such bad effects in the past for the stabilization of liberty and democracy with coexistence among the Spanish people. Obviously associated with this plan is our desire to uphold and maintain the Constitution in its entirety.

[Question] What plans have you devised to undertake the regeneration of UCD? What are your predictions concerning the liberals who are still in UCD after Antonio Garrigues Walker's arrival on the scene?

[Answer] The regeneration of UCD requires an effort on all levels, carried out by a membership that has been purified and enlightened, aimed at a renewal of both the electoral offer and of the individuals. All the party's organs will be working in that direction during the coming months. Our major concern at present is to offer a group of concrete solutions to the problems worrying the Spanish people, eliminating for once and for all the excessive attention paid by the politicians to their own problems. Our intention, I repeat, is to arouse the hopes and confidence of the Spanish people in their own capacity for progress, under a strong leadership, with definite goals, which is what we are attempting to offer.

Insofar as the liberals are concerned, it is my opinion that their ideological contribution has been one of the essential components of UCD since its founding, and is part of our political assets in all areas relating to respect for the fundamental rights and public liberties, the state of law, and our idea of the parliamentary system and the leading role of the civilian society in political action. On the other hand, I don't believe in the viability of a separate, independent, liberal plan, except one of a testimonial and electorally marginal nature.

'We Want to Compare Our Option With the Other Groups'

[Question] You have requested 6 months of your party, which end on 13 January. With this timetable in front of you, where would tend to place the calling of elections, and on what bases do you consider agreements with other parliamentary forces capable of guaranteeing the date selected possible? How would you eliminate the risks of involution which seem to be threatening this final period, brought on in part by the government's weakness?

[Answer] The maintenance of a legislature until its normal constitutional expiration, at all costs, is not in itself a positive asset. What could be described as positive is if the conditions exist that would allow for that normal duration of the legislatures. But when those conditions are not present, the logical and feasible thing to do is to call for new elections at once, so as to explicitly insure the connection between the people's wishes and their parliamentary representation. At the present time, I am analyzing the possibility of the conditions existing to continue the legislature; although, in my opinion, it is not fitting to create those conditions artificially, for example, on the basis of short-term pacts or coalitions, contrary to the nature of the parties and confusing to their electorates. As I see it, if there is a sincere continuation of this logic of

parliamentary democracy, the system will become consolidated. Furthermore, I don't believe in real dangers of involution, much less any that could stem from the government's action. Nevertheless, it does not seem erroneous to me to think that those who are causing instability in the established parties are cooperating very little in the consolidation of a democracy that has been established precisely on the parties.

[Question] UCD's progressive right wing was able to receive unequivocally democratic votes in 1977 and 1979, and PSOE's moderate left wing was voted for without scruples by a large number of Catholics. The behavior of both parties interacted in such a way that Spain became politically inhabitable. Do you consider that electoral profile of UCD valid for the coming elections, or do you think that a clarification with the basic goal of preventing the Socialist victory at all costs would be preferable?

[Answer] The political message of UCD, marked by its strong desire for modernization of Spanish society and its moderate position in political action, is an electoral profile that is valid for the forthcoming elections. Our belief in liberties and our desire to serve the greater progress and prosperity of our fellow citizens complete that profile.

We wish to compare our option, before the electorate, with the Socialist option and the conservative option, from which it is definitely different. But our option is not a mere negation of either, rather it is an affirmation of our convictions. I am not an advocate of mere assumption of positions based on antagonism.

[Question] On 23 May, in Andalucia, the so-called natural majority concerning which a strange triumphalism has occurred, succeeded in reducing the election results of the right-of-center to numbers far lower than those received by UCD alone in 1979. What is your position on this permanent proposal by Manuel Fraga?

[Answer] In my opinion, the so-called "natural majority" is not a potential reality, but rather a myth, with the meaning that this term has in the social sciences. It projects the image of a fictitious, unachievable future, associated with sentiments of concrete social sectors to force them into action. Those sentiments, which unquestionably exist in certain areas of Spanish society, are based on the belief that the Spanish people must, perforce, become aligned in only two political groups, right and left, and that apart from them there can be nothing but ambiguity, confusion and lukewarmness. I differ greatly from the hypotheses of this proposition which are aimed directly against the very foundations of Centrism. That is why, strangely enough, this statement, except of course for the personal respect due to the one who made it, has had more destructive than constructive effects, without, in my opinion, being able to produce an actual real majority.

'Without Coordination With the Government My Administration Would Be Impossible'

[Question] Do you consider your committed administration as head of UCD viable, without any control over the government, which is where the greatest capacity for conveying an image to the public lies? What is left of the party's most brilliant political statement when, the next day, there occurs, for example, the appointment

of Robles Piquer to the presidency of the Ibero-American Institute of Cooperation; that of Jaime Mayor Oreja as the government's delegate in the Basque Country (including a threat of the resignation of civilian governors); or that of Gen Jose Gaston Molina to the Infantry Academy?

[Answer] I consider my administration heading UCD to be viable. Its being easy is something else. It will not be, unquestionably, but I have confidence in it. The coordination with the government is essential. Without it, my administration would be impossible. However, it is obvious that I do not have the responsibility of the government. In any event, the appointment of Carlos Robles Piquer to the presidency of the Ibero-American Institute of Cooperation seems correct to me, in view of his competence and proven professionalism for this type of work.

[Question] You are held greatly liable for the erosion suffered by the parliamentary groups, when you did not consider valid the resignation signed in advance by Manuel Clavero Arevalo, when he decided to dissent from UCD. His example was followed by many others who ended up in the Mixed Group or found a way of making increasing demands in exchange for their remaining. As president of the Congress, what is your opinion of the Socialist group? How would you evaluate the benefit and maturity of its contributions during the legislature?

[Answer] It does not appear to me that the advance resignation of the seat with a blank signature is legally binding, especially when, as it in fact occurred in one instance, it was followed by a statement of a wish contrary to that resignation. But when the advance resignation does exist, it seems ethically and politically binding to me, because it states unequivocally that the offer and acceptance of the candidacy were made under certain initials, under the aegis of a leadership and with the political and economic backing of a party. The corollary to this type of acceptance should be the free restitution of the seat when one leaves the party through which it was gained. This ethical requirement becomes more imperative when the electoral system, as in the case of the Congress, is one of closed and blocked lists; because the voter casts his vote, not for an individual, but rather for a party option.

With regard to the last part of the question which you have asked me, as president of the Congress, it is obvious that, as such, I should not voice any opinion supplementing what may be gleaned from the direction of my vote in the Chamber itself.

2909

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AP'S FRAGA ACTIVE IN BUILDING POSSIBLE COALITION

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 14 Aug 82 p 9

[Article: "Jose Ramon Lasuen Announces an Agreement 'In Principle' With Manuel Fraga's Party"]

[Text] Jose Ramon Lasuen, head of the Social Democratic Federation and former adviser of Adolfo Suarez during his presidential term, has announced the existence of an agreement in principle with Manuel Fraga for the integration of his group into Popular Alliance [AP]. In political circles, this news was considered a sign of Fraga's efforts to cover the maximum electoral space possible, without neglecting his left wing, in which there is a convergence with the various political forces vying for the center.

The predominance of parties located left-of-center in the political spectrum (Francisco Fernandez Ordonez' PAD [Democratic Action Party], Adolfo Suarez' CDS [Social Democratic Center Party] and the potential "platform" that may be formed with independents such as Raul Morodo) and the polls which anticipate a shift toward the moderate left, have advised Fraga to attempt to cover that flank.

Other political observers claim that Lasuen's inclusion in Fraga's group only serves to introduce a new element of confusion for the electorate; and they attribute this pact "against nature" to Lasuen's desires to climb on the political bandwagon "wherever it may be," after his past differences with the left-of-center sectors. Lasuen is of the opinion that, "There are only two leaders capable of carrying the electorate: Felipe Gonzalez and Fraga."

Lasuen explains his option on behalf of the latter thusly: "The reality of the world shows that the socialist economic proposals are valid in times of prosperity but useless in times of crisis; therefore, I have decided to become allied with Fraga, because that is the best solution." The politician who, up until now, has been of Social Democratic ideology, said that the agreement with Fraga would materialize in September, although AP "has already accepted the economic program that I have devised during recent months."

Meanwhile, "flights" from the Democratic Center Union [UCD] to other parties, preferably the Social Democratic Center Party, are continuing to occur, such as that of the Centrist deputy representing La Coruna, Perfecto Yebra, who has resigned from the commissariat for the Holy Year and the presidency of the Santiago UCD. The Centrist senator from Alicante, Roque Calpena, for his part, has joined AP.

Juan Manuel Margalef, the Centrist deputy in the Catalanian Parliament, has also joined CDS, and seven others are expected to do so. Twelve of the 17 deputies in the parliamentary group met yesterday to analyze its situation following the "flights" that have occurred.

At the meeting (Elena Lorente reports), it was decided to attempt continuity, so as to finish the legislature. The decision was made with the acknowledgment that the new Suarist party in Catalonia and the membership therein of deputies who, up until now, have been affiliated with CC-UCD, will actually determine the provisional maintenance of the group.

2909

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PSOE DEPUTY DESCRIBES VISION OF SOCIALIST ADMINISTRATION

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 10, 11 Aug 82

[Two-part article by Pablo Castellano: "The Socialist Challenge"]

[10 Aug 82 p 10]

[Text] The author, a member of the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] left wing, reflects on the possibilities of his party's action if it should come to power, and concludes that, since the Socialist capacity is limited in the area of economic problems, it should direct its activity toward the expansion and establishment of democratic liberties and rights.

With the free market (?) economy which, logically, is not an economy, but rather a mismanagement and misappropriation; which is not free, but rather a slave to the interests of the multinational companies and of brazen imperialists; and which is even less a market one, because when it is analyzed it reveals its shared, divided and distributed monopoly structure; it is impossible to make additional embellishments sufficient to achieve a solution to the world and local crisis when, in addition, the crisis is the public evidence of the more than disclosed irrationality of a system.

The socialists who reach the government in the Western countries are comprised of more or less social democratic, populist or liberal socialist parties with respect to economics; and without a break in the economic model, little or almost nothing can be done. They have their hands tied, and well tied, by the contradiction of upholding unjust structures and wanting to make the effect thereof more just.

At best, they may mitigate some consequences, the overly scandalous ones; but most often they become good, honest administrators of the crisis, well-intentioned easers of the dissatisfaction and thwarted mediators of the disorder, attempting to have the state administration not foster it further still when, in addition to the crisis, there are right wing governments which are there to put the state in the service of a manipulation of the crisis, benefiting from it.

Hence it will not be in the area of the troubled world, European and Spanish economy which, furthermore, UCD [Democratic Center Union] will attempt to leave in an avowed state of bankruptcy here before "the others" arrive in the government, that the Socialists will be able to work miracles, following the passage of the hordes practicing the scorched earth policy. In this realm the so-called

gradualist Socialists have the wind in their favor, and the explanation for their caution, fear or prudence is quite easy.

Where some Socialists will not have the slightest excuse is in the area of individual and collective liberties, the guarantees for the exercise thereof, progress in their conquests and the perfection of justice, liberty and democracy, however formal they may be.

And in this land of privileges based on corruption and repression, a Socialist program imposes a radical, democratic, libertarian option with respect to liberties, a firm one in the area of justice, a serious one in public administration, and a conscientizing and intransigent one in the area of cultural training and critical reporting. With respect to liberty, justice and democracy, anyone who compromises, yields, negotiates or tolerates privileges is an accomplice and, therefore, culpable.

When it is impossible to make a radical change in the structures of economic exploitation, which give rise not only to poverty, but also alienation, cultural poverty and political domination, putting a decisive end to the scandal of corruption and repression is almost revolutionary.

The Socialists must attempt to return to the spirit of progressive interpretation of the Constitution of 1978 which, although insufficient and cautious, turns out to be a milestone of coexistence and change in the light of Calvo Sotelo's black 2 year term.

Reasonable economic sacrifices may be requested, but we cannot allow the continuation of the situation of curtailment of liberties and unpunished corruption that we have been witnessing.

Authority With Democratic Laws

A Socialist phase must represent the authority of a democratic law, and a democratic justice against terrorism, and also against coupism.

The authority is exercised with democratic laws, and the so-called Antiterrorist Law or the Law in Defense of Democracy are not such; with democratic police and democratic juries; with a right to defense that is very extensive and not evaded, as is occurring at present in most of the police stations; and with single, excluding and exclusive judges, without national political hearings or state attorneys general, that are outrageous, allowing all kinds of crimes and fraud to pass under their noses, which are even carried by the newspapers without any repercussions involving their necessary prosecution.

Justice is administered with democratic judges bent on making justice a public service and not a reactionary, elitist, closed, formalist and nostalgic "Bunkerism" among those who are promoted to that position, with that peculiar system of coopting among those selected.

There is a need for a democratic judicial police, and not government police with soft jobs in the justice system to serve as a group connected with the old

General Directorate of Security and its sewers, who have certainly been made to tremble by the possibility of a defender of the people, and who have successfully moved to delay the latter's going into operation.

And there is a need for the entire government police, the so-called National and Civil Guard and their commanders, even though they may come from the Army, to be exclusively subordinate to the Ministry of Interior and to receive not a mere change of uniform, but rather a uniform democratic and constitutional training, at a reliable General Police Academy, which cannot come under former torturers nor sworn enemies of democracy, but which is rather associated with both the School of Public Administration and the Judicial School.

And unity of jurisdictions must become a reality without delay, a desire and a constitutional principle which is a joke here in this land of privileges.

Those courts and small courts which have lawlessly evaded judicial control, whether they be called National Hearing, Economic-Administrative, labor or military, must, as the Constitution stipulates, give way to an administration of justice which is specialized, but truly single, not only in name, and effective and democratic, with compulsory people's participation in the jury, as required by the Constitution.

To Correct the Excesses

The prison establishments, which nowadays are warehouses of men and women, a negation of the most fundamental dignity, a school for criminals and a market for corruption of a certain ring of civil servants, wherein political discrimination is practiced even in the ministry itself, in favor of or against the servants of the former system and their privileges, need another philosophy different from the policy of construction works and new top security buildings, so as to seek the neglected rehabilitation of which there is no vestige other than the sarcastic term.

And one can hardly speak of an equality before the law and actual judicial protection without a serious restatement of justice free of charge, and of the right of the dispossessed to defense, which has nothing to do with that paternalism, and what is worse, the rotation of office. When the state institutionalizes the accusation, it must institutionalize the defense, which must not be left to the market of a few shrewd persons nor falsified with budgetary contributions.

The laws on conscientious objection, authentic religious freedom and real separation of Church and State have not been achieved, nor has an authentic modern Penal Code, which is apparently impossible to attain when it has threatened to give a real treatment to economic and social crimes. (Someone may try to introduce into it the fraud against unemployment, but the incompatibility between public positions, responsibilities and wages will never be introduced.)

And we must put an end, for once and for all, to the constant rumor about pressure from the so-called de facto authorities. Either the government and the Cortes represent the civil authority, and all of it, or it would be preferable to close shop. And if the inherited structures allow the Higher Banking Council (which was apparently created for this), the Episcopal Conference and the Higher Council of the Army to engage in politics, those excesses will have to be corrected;

because one groups stems from the ill-disguised banking monopoly, and the other from the masked Catholic privilege; while the latter results from the existence of a military authority paralleling the civilian authority, with its captaincy generals and military governors, which are not necessary, because the military structure must be limited to the ministry and its headquarters.

[11 Aug 82 p 10]

[Text] As a conclusion to his view of what a Socialist government program should be, the author cited the need to fight against corruption and privileged status, especially in public administration, and concludes that Socialism should at least represent a quality of morality, integrity, authority and solidarity.

If liberty, justice and democracy are not authenticated and, in addition, hunger and need must be suffered owing to the crisis, a bad final judgment may be given as the assessment of a Socialist term in office.

A Socialist term which carries out the reform of the state administration and which courageously puts an end to the economic privileges of the high-ranking members of the administration (who engage in "numerus clausus" [closed membership] in appointments and "numerarius apertus" [open membership] in salaries, among whom everything is verbal prestige, influence peddling and work that is meager and poor), will obviously not put an end to unemployment; but, with its position, it will end that other scourge, namely, an administration that is idle, poor, disrespectful toward the taxpayer, arbitrary and immune from punishment.

Because we must put an end to the scandal, so as not to be labeled as accomplices; and, furthermore, by so doing we shall be preparing for the rearmament of this democracy, which is now weak and threatened.

The possibility of reducing unemployment lies precisely in the battle against corruption and privilege, in a country such as ours which so badly needs that boasted quality of life.

It is not fair that there are no public schools or teachers at the disposal of our rural and suburban children, while hundreds of students from teacher training institutions, who graduated from them many years ago, are unemployed; and there is more than enough land on which to build schools, and to provide every town with school units. And this situation becomes scandalous when one also realizes that private education receives, among various gifts, more than 50 million pesetas per day in subsidies, a substantial part of which goes to a Catholic Church which is still elitist, interventionist and acritical, if not brazenly nostalgic.

It is a crime that there are no services for the safeguard and control of health, sanitation or food purity, nor laboratories and inspections, when the number of unemployed citizens who are biologists, veterinarians or in similar fields, prepared for this work, is increasing daily, and the majority of town halls are neglected in this area, for lack of human and material resources. This disregard for public health becomes criminal when its results are called homicidal as a result of carelessness, fraud and cheating, as we have observed in the case of the colza oil.

It is indecent that there are no necessary public health and assistance establishments when there exists a plethora of physicians who are unemployed or underutilized, on the one hand, and, on the other, physicians who have obtained positions in the civilian and military public administration for minutes, with their private professional practice, which has priority, protected for weeks.

There is no justification for the lack of libraries, cultural centers, popular theater groups, musical ensembles or film productions, while there is unemployment among actors, musicians, script writers and those certified in history, philosophy and letters (from all fields, in short), at best doing work that entails a misappropriation of the money that the state has invested in their training for service to society.

From Justice to Business

It is improper for judicial matters to be delayed for years, and that there are no courts, judges or scientific aides in the administration of justice from the fields of psychology, psychiatry and sociology, while there are thousands of unemployed among both those with law degrees and those with other types of related and supplementary learning, so that there may remain as an elitist and closed group the bureaucratized, ineffective magistracy which makes a joke of the affirmation of the right to justice, equality before the law and its availability free of charge, when, furthermore, all this brings its technical qualifications and reliability into question.

It is unacceptable that there should be a delay of months and months in paying the taxes on any document to the treasury, and a similar delay in recording them in the pertinent register; as well as the fact that there are no decisions made on the action and appeals that these may cause, misusing administrative secrecy, without an expansion in the personnel of state attorneys, notaries, registrars, etc., so that the socioeconomic privileges of these closed groups remain in the world of castes and turn them into pressure groups, which has typified them.

It is a flagrant injustice that the workers should be kept waiting for months and years, after their rights have been acknowledged, to receive the amounts due them from the Wage Guarantee Fund, the unemployment subsidy, the wages pending or loans from the Work Protection Fund, and that there are not prompt, periodic inspections in all business firms to observe failure to obey the social laws; forgetting that in these instances, behind every case, there is hunger, human frustration or dissatisfaction and the creation of a permanent state of aggressiveness.

It is not right that social housing cannot be built, and that there is no real cooperative credit, while there is luxury housing in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, etc., built by ministries and autonomous agencies for their high-ranking officials which, owing to the facilities with which the housing is provided, can give their "beneficiaries" 50 percent of the price of a square meter, in comparison with the amount that a worker pays in Leganes, Hospitalet, Baracaldo or any other working-class district in our large capitals for a poor, inhuman dwelling.

It is cynical that small and medium-sized business should be left to its bad luck, while the state budget is used to revive bankrupt banks, to put firms that have been insanelly established on a sound footing and to protect the 200 families

which traditionally represent the financial world, or to finance investments of the multinationals in Spain, which are, in addition, given tax and credit privileges.

Moralization of the Society

The citizens are also standing by bearing in mind, besides the evidence that has been given, those 2 billion pesetas which escaped from Switzerland, with the government's complacent impassiveness; what is still going on every day in some police stations, with the right to legal assistance, and almost every day in some jails, which now appear to be a programmed suicide factory; as well as what is happening in most of the civilian governments, with the manipulation of the money from the community unemployment. And millions have appeared to subsidize the nuclear powerplants, from the electric monopoly, with unwillingness to invest a single peseta in the rural area; or there is the scandalous situation of failure to implement the Law on Manifestly Improvable Properties.

All this and much more must be said without euphemisms or hedging, calling for bread, bread, and for wine, wine, in class language. Moreover, it is an unconcealable truth that honest people, however conservative they may be, will recognize those who are to blame for this situation and who are benefiting from it, and those who want to put an end to it in a democratic way.

The use that one class or the other makes of the state must be disclosed.

Some are now attempting, again, for the sake of standing as firmly as possible in their privileges, to tell PSOE to become moderate, because moderation is what has given it a partial victory and will give it total success. But PSOE will be given victory by the sincerity of a class analysis, and by not disguising the reality in which we find ourselves, with a firm disclosure of how the political, and even the Church and military power operates in the service of the economic interests.

In Spain, with the Socialists there must triumph the hope of an ethic for lending moralization to Spanish political activity again, in opposition to the administered corruption offered by part of the right, and the corruption plus repression for which others yearn, to be reborn by hands that are not clean from a democratic standpoint.

The 1976 reform has reached the limit of not wanting to reach anything, and the counter-UCD of UCD itself has buried it amid a noisy uproar of ambitions, in a vulgar brawl of scoundrels and cheats.

Socialism, here and now, could at least represent that quality of civic spirit, morality, authority, solidarity, integrity, humility, modesty and responsibility of which this people ceased to hear any mention in 1939, upon the arrival of the assassins of the Republic, who have bequeathed their heirs to us.

COALITION BUILDING FOR UPCOMING ELECTIONS IN FULL SWING

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 9 Aug 82 p 11

[Article by Fernando Jauregui: "The Policy of Coalitions Will Create Two Centrist Blocs Close to AP and PSOE"]

[Text] Madrid--Although still subject to great uncertainty, the policy of coalitions, a key to the elections which, it is expected, will take place in November, has appeared quietly during this month of August, threatening to bring many surprises in the coming weeks, with the foreseeable demarcation of two blocs, right-of-center and left-of-center, respectively.

Most of the statements by the leaders of the Center parties stress the maintenance of a "majority inclination," and the desire to run alone in the elections. But there is one exception: all of them will abide by what is decided by their national congresses or their top-ranking guiding entities. Both Adolfo Suarez' Social Democratic Center and Oscar Alzaga's Popular Democratic Party, as well as Garri-gues' Liberal Democratic Party or Fernandez Ordonez' Democratic Action Party, have yet to hold their respective congresses.

The main point on the agenda at all these events, scheduled for late September or early October, relates to the coalitions that each one of them might join to run in the elections, or after them. The preelectoral alliances that may be formed at that time will make significant changes on the Spanish political map, which is still far from being consolidated. The respective commissions formed in Popular Alliance and in PDP [Popular Democratic Party] to concern themselves with possible preelectoral coalitions are holding periodic meetings, aimed at concluding the announced pact between the two groups. However, the coalition with Fraga does not seem to be evoking enthusiasm among the PDP rank and file which, concurrently, would not refuse to reach some type of agreement with the leaders of the Democratic Center Union, with whom they are also holding talks. The conduct that the government party will observe in this respect constitutes the real focal point of any policy of alliances associated with the coming elections.

A certain amount of ambiguity in the statements of its leaders (recall the comments made by Calvo Sotelo on the flight to Quito), combined with what all observers consider UCD's unavoidable need to force some type of preelectoral pact so as to achieve results that are even respectable at the polls, have caused everyone to await the steps that the government party may take in this area. The "number

two" Centrist, Juan Antonio Ortega Diaz Ambrona, in recent statements made to EL PAIS, cited the need for UCD to hold a special Political Council meeting if it wanted to change the decision to run alone in the elections, without prior coalitions of any kind.

Antonio Garrigues' Liberal Democratic Party appears as the most immediate candidate for a coalition with UCD; there are only some ideological differences and, like UCD, PDL has shown unequivocally that it is opposed to a pact with Fraga. The great unknown would lie in ascertaining whether PDP will succeed in forcing UCD and PDL to the goal of the Fragist "natural majority" (as Alzaga is incessantly proclaiming), or whether, on the contrary, the minority line that exists in PDP, opposed to the coalition with Popular Alliance (wherein there is certainly also a movement, headed by Fernando Suarez, which has no desire to enter a coalition with Alzaga), will end up victorious. In the latter instance, it would not be unthinkable to consider a UCD-PDP-PDL group, running together in the November elections.

In any event, it seems rather unlikely that Antonio Garrigues and his Liberals will end up taking the political and economic risk that would be entailed for them by running alone in elections governed by the current electoral law, which gives precedence to the "great ones" and severely penalizes the small groups.

Confusion in the Left-of-Center

It is not inconceivable that, once Suarez, the great enemy of the Liberal movement, has left UCD, Garrigues may join the party currently in power, after the PDL constituent congress, which could, moreover, turn out to be a dissolver of this party.

While the situation in the right-of-center is confused, that in the left-of-center is no less so, with both Adolfo Suarez' Social Democratic Center and Fernandez Ordonez' Democratic Action Party starting a race to reach some type of alliance with the Socialists. But, unlike PAD, CDS has retained its desire ("with the exception of what the party's constituent congress may decide") to run alone in the elections, without any kind of alliance; which would not preclude a post-electoral agreement with PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party]. Fernandez Ordonez' party, on the other hand, would agree to be included on the Socialist electoral tickets, wherein it would find a numerically slight acceptance. PSOE's discreet silence toward the offers made to it by CDS and PAD might end up forcing an understanding between these two parties, whose programs are rather similar and which are united, on principle, by an ironclad intention of not making a pact with the right-of-center.

So, the political horizon appears to be showing two major electoral options, the right-of-center and the left-of-center, capable of formalizing post-electoral pacts with Popular Alliance and PSOE, respectively. But, until the final moment arrives, we shall be witnessing tactical and "sounding out" movements, movements which have already started to occur.

2909

CSO: 3110/206

GERMAN GENERAL CRITICIZES DANISH ROLE IN NORTH NATO COMMAND

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 14 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Klaus Justesen]

[Text] Brussels--German military leaders are now demanding a more prominent role in the top leadership of the joint commands for northern Europe. If the demands are met, it will be at the expense of Danish and Norwegian officers. They currently occupy most of the top posts.

New Agreements Demanded

It is the four-star German General Guenther Kiessling who has presented the demands for increased German influence in a big interview with the well-known newspaper, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE. Kiessling, who is deputy commander in chief for NATO forces, claimed that there is too little German representation in Allied Forces Northern Europe, which covers Norway, Denmark and Slesvig-Holstein.

"We Germans have shown an exaggerated restraint," said the general. "Since the Oslo agreement in 1961, the German contribution to the joint combat forces has risen 50 percent. That makes it necessary to revise the more than 20-year-old agreement."

There is no doubt that the general's demand is supported by German military people. On the other hand, a revision was already rejected by politicians. Earlier this year, BERLINGSKE TIDENDE reported German dissatisfaction that since 1 April 1982 Denmark has occupied all five leading command posts in the Danish-German unified command, also known as the Baltap organization.

Anger in NATO

The question of German influence in the NATO leadership has become extremely relevant since the German government decided to make General Juergen Brandt a candidate for the highest NATO post as chief of the military committee. That aroused anger in NATO, where Cor de Jager of Holland is the favorite.

6578

CSO: 3106/158

THIRTEENTH FOREIGN LEGION BRIGADE IN DJIBOUTI

Practice on Rough Roads

Paris KEPI BLANC in French Jul 82 p 38

[Text] There was activity in Gabode on 21 April 1982. Beginning at 0530 hours in the morning, the final preparations of the interunit road maintenance challenge were under way. The supervisors completed the installation of the service stops while the competitors lent a final hand in adjusting their vehicles.

The organizers did things well: On a 36-km circuit in diversified terrain, some scattered service stops were set up and some "roving controllers" were positioned. From the start, the checking of the vehicles' papers, waybill, and other documents placed the 25 competitors in the right mood. To park according to regulations along a road and to change a wheel constituted the initiation rite for the crews. A difficult stretch of roadway on a rocky climb made it possible to test the maneuverability of the vehicles and the skills of the drivers. The crossing of the sandy hills and of the Wadi Ambouli confirmed the competence of the latter. Knowledge of the rules of the road and the operations to be effected at the close of the exercise concluded the challenge.

Crews, surprised by the nature of the service stops but never helpless, proved themselves to be ingenious in all the practical exercises along the itinerary. To know how to combine speed and security was mandatory since the chronometer, on its part, did not run out of breath. Controllers who "blended" with the landscape took note of speeding and other violations of the rules of the road.

The circuit and service stops were appreciated by all the participants and some of them already looked forward to the end-of-year challenge to take their revenge.

The ranking by unit was as follows:

First: CCAS [Headquarters Support and Administrative Company]; second, reconnaissance squadron; third, 4th Company of the 2nd Foreign Paratroop Regiment.

The three top-ranking crews were as follows:

First, Sergeant Arquellada and Corporal Lai Shin Koug (4th company, 2nd Foreign Paratroop Regiment).

Second, Sergeant Caro and Corporal Colasse (CCAS).

Third, Corporals Rubio-Sanchez and Weihrauch (2nd Transportation Company).

Field Practice

Paris KEPI BLANC in French Jun 82 p 21

[Text] On 12 and 14 April 1982, the CCAS [Headquarters Support and Administrative Company] effected its monthly sortie in the field in the Myriam and Artaplage region.

The equipment was brought in by road and sea.

The communications command and its defense section were harassed day and night.

First by the air force, guided by an OGT [expansion unknown] of the company, which directed the attack of two Mirage aircraft. Once night had fallen, an enemy section destroyed the remaining units. But, unfortunately for it, its infiltration was detected by the "Rasura" radar units of the defense section and the attack was transformed into flight in the direction of the CTM craft waiting offshore.

Along the road, an ambush set by the 1st Marching Section obliged the enemy to make a detour to join the men from their "Zodiac" craft which had to transport the men to the CTM craft.

At daybreak, the exercise was completed to general satisfaction. Everyone was tired but pleased to have been able to breathe fresh air for 24 hours.

Tactical Exercise in Northern Djibouti

Paris KEPI BLANC in French Jun 82 p 24

[Text] Once a month on the average, a platoon from the reconnaissance squadron leaves for a tactical visit in the northern region of the Republic of Djibouti and more especially in the northeast, which includes terrain favorable to the deployment and operations of armored vehicles.

These tours, which take place in a region unfamiliar to the squadron's personnel, demand the use of the capabilities of the various armed services. They are broken down into two principal stages: tactical instruction and technical instruction.

The former makes it possible to stress basic operations in patrol and simple platoon missions.

The second, much more important, first involves points studied customarily: Topography, night driving, and so on. but it is especially based on the use of unusual means. Thus, the CTMs or EDICs [Infantry and Tank Landing craft] of the French Navy are the vectors enabling the troops to cross the Gulf of Tadjoura. This explains the platoon chief's problems, new for him, that he has to face such as the reconnaissance of landing beaches, the fragmenting of his forces, boarding and landing, by strictly applying the directives provided by the Navy. These tours are also the occasion to solve the logistical difficulties raised by deliveries by air: Projections of the use of victuals, fuel, and spare parts.

Far from their base, the platoons circle in this "wild and barely accessible" region, feeling that any error in estimation or evaluation could jeopardize the mission.

Company Divisions

Paris KEPI BLANC in French Apr 81 p 22

[Text] In the 3rd Company, every section is specialized. Thus, the 1st Company is made up of demolition personnel, the 1nd Company includes frogmen, while the 3rd Company has crack sharpshooters. The 2nd Section may be called upon to undertake several types of missions. After the frogmen take to the water from "Zodiac" or LCM craft or from Puma helicopters, the section can reconnoiter and mark a beach with beacons to help the landing of a larger unit or to stage an attack against a target located close to the landing point.

These actions, preceded by longer or shorter frogmen operations, are done essentially at night.

Training is facilitated by the means available to the 13th Foreign Infantry Regiment in Djibouti: The commando training center of Arta beach and its nautical equipment, the helicopters of the ALAT [Ground Forces Tactical Air Support] detachment, the craft of the French Navy, and especially a climate making amphibious operations possible under all circumstances.

2662

CSO: 3100/828

RETIRING MILITARY DISTRICT COMMANDER CITES WEAPONS SHORTAGES

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 7 Aug 82 p 14

[Interview with Col Ole Jakob Hald by Pål Nordenborg; date and place not specified]

[Text] "The Armed Forces have not entirely succeeded in finding themselves in Norway since the war. We are still suffering under the influence of the shock after 1940 and of the imitation of the standing armies of the big powers at the time, especially Great Britain's. We must find our own peculiar character again."

Col Ole Jakob Hald, who said that to ARBEIDERBLADET, is now retiring as army chief in Norway's most heavily populated district. As commanding officer of Defense District 4 and the corps of chasseurs, Akershus Infantry Regiment No. 4 with headquarters at Onsrud, he has had a central position in planning and organizing total defense of the central part of East Norway, including the capital. In case of mobilization the head of the defense district also has the command of all refresher units and the Home Guard. The district contains 20 percent of the population of Norway.

The regiment also makes troops available for the defense of other parts of the country, such as North Norway. IR 4 [Infantry Regiment No. 4] is also setting up the Norwegian contingents for the U.N. forces in Lebanon.

Unacceptable Shortages

Colonel Hald's character as an open, outgoing military man will be known not only to the thousands of conscripts and regulars in the armed forces that he has met in service. Hald has presented his views in writing and orally for many years on the content and meaning of the service. More than once he has given expression to his great skepticism in regard to costly and technically advanced military equipment in the Norwegian Armed Forces at the expense of the necessary basic equipment for mobilization defense, weapons, and equipment in the medium and lower price classes.

"In this I also know that many of the men and officers are in agreement with me. I have been stopped on the street when I was in civilian clothes by people who wanted to discuss this and say that they share my opinion," says Ole Jakob Hald, to be a retired officer in little more than a week.

"I am not just out to get off negative criticism as I retire and quit as an officer. These are things that I have given voice to on many occasions. I used to participate a great deal in armed forces debates, give lectures, and write a little in newspapers and magazines."

"I want to emphasize that a number of the defects that encumber our armed forces should not be passed over in silence. I especially want to emphasize that the shortage of equipment and weapons that affects our mobilization plans today is absolutely unacceptable," says Hald.

Build the Armed Forces Up From the Bottom

His message is: Substantial shifts in the Armed Forces' operation and activity can be combined with increased defense effectiveness and fast mobilization of the defense capability to the advantage of the individual personally, of society, of the family and the economy, and of the Armed Forces themselves. But for that the Armed Forces must be built up from the bottom.

"It is compulsory military service that is our strength in regard to total defense and purely militarily. Underfunding mobilization defense as we are doing today is dangerous and unfair," says Colonel Hald. He says that all too many in the Armed Forces are staring themselves blind at the standing army.

According to Hald only a few military units--and they do not require especially large numbers of personnel--such as planes and some of the vessels, H.M. the King's Guard, and the Garrison in South Varanger, are really needed for the regular armed forces.

Short Compulsory Service

[Question] You have said that you are ashamed not to have contributed more to an effective defense. In what way?

[Answer] I will give you a quotation from a statement that Colonel General Svedlund, the Swedish commander in chief, came up with during the Nordic defense discussions in 1948-1949: "Norway is easy to defend. It is impossible to conquer and to occupy if there is anything like a proper defense."

Let me give you a few indications of what I mean when I say that the Armed Forces must be built up from the bottom and made more effective:

- Military obligation in the form of a short service based on local conditions, with longer hours every day and with more service in the evening or at night.
- Strong local, quickly mobilizable combat groups at the larger cities and densely populated areas, airports, and ports.
- In that way we can secure all such places, not just some few with weapons systems that exceed the limits of the appropriations and also create a number of problems, such as uncertainty about the effects, constant price increases, and fixing the budget limits for many years to come. Plus the unpredictable weapons development in these fields.

- With these gaps filled we can carry out short-term transfers of military units of limited size between parts of the country depending on available resources, economy, and means of transportation at any given time.

- Weapons and equipment in lower and medium price classes must be procured for the whole mass of trained soldiers subject to military duty, i.e. including the reserves. These are types of weapon that can adequately fill the defense rôle in given situations and that are capable of destroying the costly, complicated, vulnerable equipment that modern attack forces are making use of today.

This gives the greatest defense effect both nationally and within the framework of NATO, and results in steady orders to our own Norwegian industry.

Defense Based on Compulsory Military Service is Norway's Strength

Colonel Hald has no doubt that Norwegian political and military leaders today realize clearly that the Armed Forces' organization, activity, and procurements are a game of solitaire that has steadily less tendency to come out. But little has been done in the way of changes that can repair the damage.

Colonel Hald points out that the Defense Commission of 1974 emphasized more clearly than many others the importance of defense based on mobilization. But he also remembers the ragged, unusable socks that a district defense chief in another part of the country recently got from his quartermaster as an example of the state of things.

[Question] Is it not true that a researcher recently presented some arguments to the effect that Norway should switch to the system of a volunteer army?

[Answer] I do not believe that would do in Norway. With the appropriations we are operating with here we could have four or five superdivisions that way. No, what we must do in Norway is freshen up our ideas about our conscript defense of 1905 and adapt that pattern to our own modern time.

I am convinced that conscription is making the most valuable contribution to the defense debate that is now going on in the western world. A defense that is based on universal, solidary compulsory military service will also be the best contribution Norway can make to the allied defense.

Clearer Defense Debate

Colonel Hald says:

"Advanced, high-technology weapons systems--and nuclear weapons--can, of course, threaten the country or destroy it, but can never be used to conquer or hold it.

"A change along the lines I have made myself spokesman for will also create a clearer defense debate in Norway. The conscript now finds himself in a sort of intermediate situation in which that soldier's duties are not clearly enough founded in practice."

It is in that connection of a meaningful mission for the mobilization defense that he especially points to the shortages of weapons and equipment that exist

at our mobilization camps all over the country, but especially in the district of the local infantry regiment in the Oslo area. The neglect of the mass of conscripts and of mobilization defense have led to these outfits' having to lend out equipment to, e.g., the school and training divisions.

This is true of the divisions' antitank weapons such as mortars and light cannon, vehicles, communications equipment, and small arms for many battalions. The number of small arms that are at places other than the mobilization depots is in five figures.

The outgoing colonel concludes:

"Use money to procure quite basic materiel and equipment before buying costly planes, vessels, and computer installations. Such equipment must wait its turn if the money is to suffice.

"By such a change it is quite possible to get more defense for the funds that are available. That is true whether the budget is 20 billion, 10.5 billion, or 5 billion kroner. It is too simple," says Hald, "to assert that the Armed Forces will be strengthened only if we get to spend several billion more."

8815

CSO: 3108/147

PAPER BACKS COMMANDER IN URGING CHANGE IN MOBILIZATION PLANS

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 9 Aug 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Trait of the Arm Forces"]

[Text] Money and the size of the budget usually get the greatest attention when the armed forces are discussed on the outside. We are familiar with that from the debate on 3 or 4 percent real growth, which the ruling Conservative Party in particular has been unwise enough to try to put the stamp of party policy on.

The defense chief is already quite cool toward those in the Conservative Party who have stood for that outbidding line. There is little reason to doubt that the defense chief can imagine both 4 and 5 percent real increase in the defense budget. But since no higher powers than AFTENPOSTEN or the government seem to be able to do so, he has evidently turned a deaf ear to fair promises and is planning on the basis of probability. It would have been bad if he had led the country's armed forces in accordance with the Conservatives' campaign promises.

Something positive may perhaps come out of this shattering of defense policy daydreams which seems brutal to many. If the illusions about the significance of the percentages are also shattered, we can have a clearer defense debate. Such numbers are not worthless, but are unusable in the way that they are too often misused. Percentage calculations are not especially suitable either as an expression of the ability and will to defend ourselves or as a basis for comparison in measuring different countries' defense.

What we need is a goals-and-means debate on defense regardless of the size of the defense budget. That debate must be engaged in more often than the few times a commission meets. That could, for example, make the politician sharpen his suspicious feelings when a military leader says he will not be able to strengthen our defense unless he gets a few billion kroner more. On the other side, the military might be more suspicious toward politicians who promise those billions.

A debate on how every krone will yield more defense will force itself upon us faster than most people believed, and also faster than the Defense Commission of 1974 imagined. With the economic reality that characterizes most societies

today at the same time that we are coming to see more and more clearly the disadvantages of high-technology, costly, complicated equipment, we shall sooner or later find that we have to undertake quite radical reevaluations of the operation of the Norwegian armed forces.

Instead of discussing economy in isolation as a sign of growth or retrogression, the content and meaning of defense must shape the defense debates to a greater extent.

The newly retired chief of the country's most densely populated defense district, Col Ole Jakob Hald of Defense District 4 and the corps of chasseurs, Akershus Infantry Regiment No. 4, has again called attention to the weaknesses and shortcomings he and many other military commanders have suffered with for many years in local society. When this experienced officer points out conditions that he says are completely unacceptable, they should not be trivialized. If the military themselves feel his remarks are troublesome or uncomfortable, interested politicians should be grateful for Colonel Hald's thought-provoking observations, especially with an eye to the development of society in the years to come.

He says that by simple and natural measures it is quite possible to strengthen conventional defense considerably, independent of the size of the budget. But then there must be a willingness to turn a few things upside-down.

Our military defense today has too much the character of a great-power defense in miniature, Hald insists. It gives a form of constant preparedness that is both costly and inexpedient, while our mobilization depots and camps which will serve as the chief element of our defense can be stripped of basic equipment. For that reason he says that defense must be built up from the bottom and starting from local conditions.

A change along these lines will also take full advantage of the strong will to defend ourselves that the opinion polls give clear evidence of. Service will become more meaningful, to the advantage of family, society, and the armed forces themselves.

And when he says that Norway's defense has not entirely succeeded in finding itself since World War II, Colonel Hald means that the answer lies in strengthening mobilization defense and taking compulsory military service more seriously in defense planning.

Therein lies the peculiar character of Norwegian defense.

8815
CSO: 3108/147

LABOR ORGAN APPLAUDS BENKOW FOR DEFENSE BUDGET COMMENTS

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET 12 Aug 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Well Done Benkow"]

[Text] Although for most of the postwar period there has been unity across party lines on Norwegian defense and security policy, the Conservative Party has always managed to present itself as a quite particularly pro-defense party. In recent years the Conservative Party has gone a step further and put a question mark beside the Labor Party's reliability on such questions. In this way the Conservative Party has tried to split the broad unanimity that there has been on defense and security questions.

That came strongly to the fore 2 years ago when we were discussing the growth in the defense budgets in the coming years. The Labor Party government went in for a growth of 3 percent, while the non-socialist coalition parties, led by the Conservative Party, insisted on 4 percent. That difference was used by the Conservative side for strong attacks on the Labor Party. The day after the Storting debate, 17 April 1980, AFTENPOSTEN, the principal Conservative Party organ, wrote that the paper could well understand that more and more people were now putting a question mark beside the Labor Party's desire for a secure and reliable defense. The chairman of the defense committee, Per Hysing-Dahl, Conservative, said in the Storting debate: "What gives our defense credibility is not our proclamations about unity or about patriotism and the will to defend ourselves. Credibility is created by our actions." The utterance was aimed at the Labor Party.

We are tempted to quote Hysing-Dahl once more. Before the Storting debate in 1980 he wrote a big news article in AFTENPOSTEN under the headline: "The Economy Can Never Determine the Need for Defense." In that article the then chairman of the defense committee made it clear that the economic development, either in Norway or in the rest of the world, cannot determine the threats to which we are exposed and the defense needs that we must cover.

These quotations (which could be multiplied almost infinitely) are interesting when viewed against the background of the signals that have come that the Conservative Party government, in its very first budget bill, is backing off from the objective of a 4-percent increase in the defense budget. The latest to come out and try to soften up that part of public opinion that might be shocked by that is Jo Benkow, chairman of the Conservative Party, who made it clear in

an interview with the Conservative Party Press Bureau that not even the defense budget can escape scrutiny in the difficult budget situation in which we find ourselves.

Jo Benkow puts forth an important argument when he says that "if we are compelled to cut back on quite necessary items affecting the real welfare, it would be politically and objectively almost unconscious and irresponsible not to see whether we can get along with a somewhat smaller increase in the defense budget than the long-term plan provided for." And further: "We will do well in the situation we are now in to be able to maintain a budget level in one field when all the rest must be reduced."

We completely support Jo Benkow's statements. Here in ARBEIDERBLADET we formulated the same thoughts back on 31 March 1980: "If the Labor Party and the government do not in the current situation want to go further than has been proposed, that is partly on the basis of an evaluation of the current economic situation in which Norwegian society finds itself. Since the Armed Forces are also a part of Norwegian society, this is a situation that the Armed Forces cannot consider themselves independent of."

We bid the Conservative chairman and his party welcome as late-comers. It is certainly well done to turn their backs on old principles, positions, and utterances as quickly as they have done in this case. At the same time, Benkow must expect that many who believed in the Conservative propaganda earlier will register what is now being done with great astonishment. They will discover that the Conservative Party was using the Armed Forces before the election in the fall of last year for its tactical overbid. That is a revelation that can be useful. Nor do we regret that it weakens the credibility of the Conservative Party and the government, including credibility in the matter of defense.

We hope that the Conservative Party will learn its lesson from what has happened and that in the future we shall be spared a repetition of the percentage debate that we have experienced for the last few years. Everybody can see now that the Conservative Party was creating an artificial conflict over an important defense policy question.

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